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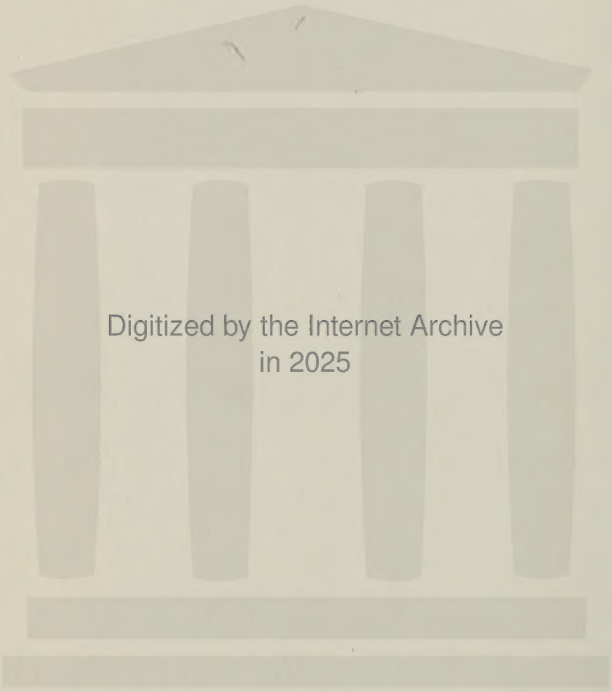
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WALES AND "Y GOLEUAD"

Knox, Robert Buick,

WALES

AND

"Y GOLEUAD"

(1869–1879)

A survey to mark the centenary
of the foundation of
Y GOLEUAD
in 1869

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Note on references:

YBC—*Y Bywgraffiadur Cymreig* (see note on page 180).

The references to *Y Goleuad* give date of the issue referred to and the page number: e.g., 10/8/78, 4 refers to the issue of 10th August, 1878, at page 4.

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PREFACE

During the ten years when I was on the staff of the Theological College, Aberystwyth, I tried to make myself acquainted with the Welsh language and with the history of the Presbyterian Church of Wales. I found that both these purposes were well served by a perusal of the pages of *Y Goleuad*. This paper was launched in 1869 and I read in their entirety every issue published during the first decade of the paper's history. I was so engrossed by what I read that I was moved to put together an account of Welsh life as it was reflected in those pages. I hope that such an intensive survey may be some contribution to the study of Welsh history and may also mark the centenary of the paper in 1969.

It may seem strange that this task has been undertaken by an Irishman and in the English language. In defence it can be said that this picture of Welsh life deserves to be known by those inside and outside Wales who do not speak the Welsh language but have an interest in this important period in Welsh affairs. It may also be possible that an outsider like myself may be able to survey the scene with a detachment not easily attained by those whose roots are deep in the land and the period. I offer this study as a tribute of respect and affection for the Church and people in Wales who gave me a wonderful welcome and among whom I felt and still feel myself at home.

I am much indebted to all who were my colleagues on the staff of the Theological College and to successive waves of students who encouraged my researches in *Y Goleuad*, to the Historical Society of the Presbyterian Church of Wales and its Secretary, Rev. Gomer M. Roberts, M.A., who readily sponsored this work and also invited me to lecture on this theme at the General Assembly in 1969, to the Catherine and Lady Grace James Foundation whose great generosity has made publication possible, and to the Calvinistic Methodist Book Agency and its Superintendent, Rev. Griffith Parry, B.A., who, amid many commitments, have produced the book so promptly and efficiently.

Diolch i'r Eglwys Bresbyteraidd yng Nghymru am ei chroeso a'i charedigrwydd yn ystod fy amser yn ei gweinidogaeth ac yn ei Choleg; yn ei chymdeithas fe ddysgais werthfawrogi cymundeb y saint, ac ymgais yw'r llyfr hwn i gydnabod fy nyled iddi a hefyd i'm cyfeillion yn y Coleg Diwinyddol yn Aberystwyth.

R. Buick Knox.

Coleg Westminster,
Caergrawnt.

Gŵyl y Pasg, 1969.

Chapter I.

Y GOLEUAD

The British Parliament passed three important Acts between 1867 and 1870 which were the outward signs of a great, though gradual, change in the social and political life of the country. In 1867 the Second Reform Bill was passed and this opened somewhat more widely the gates leading to political influence and power. In 1869 the coming into force of the Act disestablishing the Church of Ireland was a further stage in the reduction of the exclusive privileges of Anglicanism and also indicated the growing influence of non-conformists and Roman Catholics. In 1870 the new Education Act made provision for the setting up of many new schools and for giving educational opportunity to an ever-increasing number of children. As often happens, the increased social and educational opportunities which were opened through these Acts had the further effect of making many people even more acutely aware of other disadvantages and consequently sharpened their agitation for further concessions. The Welsh non-conformists became even more sensitive to their continuing disabilities. They found that many of them were still not entitled to vote; they felt humiliated by the privileges still enjoyed by the Established Church; they were perturbed because so many of their children could only get education in schools controlled by the clergy of the Church of England. The Calvinistic Methodists were particularly sensitive about their disabilities and when *Y Goleuad* was launched in October 1869 it became the voice of that discontent and indeed had a large influence in moulding that discontent.

Y Goleuad was launched by John Davies, a man of remarkable natural business ability.[1] He was born in Bangor in 1832 and he began work as a printer in the offices of the *North Wales Chronicle;* then he became a reporter for the paper and he gained a wide knowledge of current literary, political and educational trends as he travelled around North Wales. His next move was to become editor of the *Cronicl Cymru* which was published by the same firm as published the *North Wales Chronicle.* Having thus gained a wide experience as printer, reporter and editor he moved to Caernarvon where he bought the printing business of John Hughes; from this office there issued the first number of *Y Goleuad*

1. YBC; 5/2/1904, 9.

in October, 1869. The paper was thus a private venture, but since Davies was a devoted Calvinistic Methodist as were many of the potential readers it reflected his interest in the affairs of Calvinistic Methodism. The paper also bore witness to his strong support for the Temperance movement and for Liberalism in politics.

The format and attitude of the paper continued to bear the stamp of Davies' early planning even after he felt compelled by his other financial and business interests to sell his printing business. The new owner was Mr. D. W. Davies and in 1872 he appointed Rev. Evan Jones to be the new editor.[2] Like John Davies, Evan Jones' whole background and experience uniquely fitted him for editorial work. He was reared within the Connexion and his loyalty to it was deep and passionate; his understanding of its origins, weaknesses and aims was also profound and ardent. His mother's mother was a sister of Abraham Wood, a preacher in the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, and this link gave him a further relationship with the origins of the Connexion and at the same time did much to deliver him from becoming parochial and sectarian in his outlook and gave him a distaste for any such trend in his Welsh compatriots. His pathway into the ministry must have seemed a circuitous pilgrimage but it specially fitted him for the part he was to play in the life of the Connexion. He began as an apprentice in the printing business in Machynlleth and then worked at this trade in Bethesda and Caernarvon before joining the staff of *Yr Herald Gymraeg* in Caernarvon; he also served the same firm in Holyhead. In 1859 he opened a printing business in Machynlleth and about the same time he began to preach. Having decided that he had a vocation to the ministry he went to Bala College after which he became minister in Aberllefenni and then in Dyffryn Ardudwy. While in Aberllefenni he became well-known through a controversy with the Vicar of Corris on the thorny subject of Disestablishment. This became one of his lifelong passions and shortly before his death in 1915 Lloyd George told him that for half a century he had fought a brilliant and tenacious fight for religious equality in Wales.[3] It was thus natural that his practical experience and controversial skill should bring him to the notice of the owner of *Y Goleuad* as a likely editor. He took up the task in 1872 and carried the responsibility for four

2. YBC; 8/10/1915.
3. 26/3/1915, 9.

years. In 1875 he became minister of Moriah chapel in Caernarvon where he combined a fine pastoral ministry with abundant literary work. Though he ceased to edit *Y Goleuad* in 1876 he did not lose his interest in it and he devoted himself to building up the Connexional book business and he was supervisor of all Connexional publications for many years. He had a directness of style and an armoury of invective and persuasion which he could use with powerful effect, and he had also a width of knowledge and a clarity of mind which gave great weight to his arguments.[4]

Y Goleuad was specifically devoted to presenting news of events and movements within the Connexion; news of events in individual chapels and of proceedings in Monthly meetings, in Associations, and in General Assemblies formed a large part of its contents. There were also leading articles which defended the Connexion and gave expression to its convictions and also sought to shape opinion and policy within the Connexion. Nevertheless, *Y Goleuad*, in its early decades and as was pointed out in the first issue, was not an official organ of the Connexion nor was it under Connexional control and so it was able to criticise and castigate the Connexion as it saw fit. It also printed articles which seemed to some readers to diverge from the standards of the Connexion but it was sufficiently independent to go its own way. The quality of its articles, the freshness of its opinions, and the range of its news, won for it an influential place in and even beyond the Connexion.

Moreover, it served as a newspaper in many homes where a daily newspaper would be a luxury and where there were often few who could read English papers with ease. It had columns of news from all quarters of the world ranging from the marvellous to the macabre and which even at this remote distance of time make interesting reading.

There were notes on events of special significance; there was the arrival of David Livingstone's body from Africa on its way to burial in England,[5] the erection of a school at Haddington as a tercentenary memorial to John Knox for which £2,600 had been raised,[6] the unveiling of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington,[7] the

4. When he died in September 1915, Rev. T. Gwynedd Roberts paid tribute to his dauntless tenacity in the many projects he undertook: "Pan y cymerai bwnc neu gynllun mewn llaw, ni thrôi yn ôl er neb na dim, nes dwyn barn i fuddugoliaeth": 15/10/1915, 7.
5. 18/4/74, 8.
6. 30/10/75, 12.
7. 29/4/76, 13.

erection of a memorial to Martin Luther at his birthplace in Eisleben,[8] the centenary of the American Declaration of Independence,[9] the death of the Mormon pioneer, Brigham Young,[10] the employment of 8,500 workers in making arms at the Krupp factory in Germany,[11] the phenomenal success of the Paris Exhibition which had 1,666,879 visitors in May 1878 and 2,555,523 in June,[12] the building of the Eddystone Lighthouse at a cost of £67,000,[13] the illness of Cardinal Newman in Rome[14] and the fortune of Baron Rothschild amounting to £2,700,000.[15] Nor were the pages of *Y Goleuad* lacking in a sense of humour. It was reported that 200,000 Valentine cards had been posted in Manchester in 1875;[16] a labourer's wife at Ipswich bore triplets who were named Hope, Faith and Charity;[17] a man fascinated by recent scientific marvels had called his five daughters Glycerine, Pepsine, Ethyl, Methyl and Morphia;[18] two men had been sentenced in a Middlesex court to six months imprisonment for painting a small bird yellow and then selling it as a canary to a woman for four shillings;[19] a sailor was arrested in Ipswich for being drunk and disorderly and his only possession was his total abstinence pledge;[20] and a Bill was before the California legislature to enact whipping for any man who beat his wife.[21]

Another line in news was the macabre. There was the drunken Irishman, Timothy Barrett, who on his way home from Pontypridd fair fell into a ditch and was drowned.[22] A man called Webster had gone to the police and reported that he had murdered his wife and when they went to investigate they found that her body was almost decapitated.[23] A mother of ten had eloped from her home in Sheffield with a local preacher and had taken £400 of her husband's money.[24] A certain Richard Charlton had shot and killed his wife and then tried to shoot another woman and then himself.[25] A Welshman, John Williams, living in Durham, fell out with his wife over money and she went home to her mother; two of her brothers went to see Williams in an attempt to make peace but he threatened to kill the first one who entered the house and he shot and injured one of the brothers seriously but his wife then returned and rushed upon him and disarmed him and took him to

8. 8/7/76, 4.
9. 8/7/76, 8.
10. 8/9/77, 5.
11. 16/3/78, 5.
12. 24/8/78, 11.
13. 24/8/78, 13.
14. 31/5/79, 11.
15. 12/7/79, 9.
16. 27/2/75, 14.
17. 6/4/78, 13.
18. 5/4/79, 7.
19. 5/4/79, 13.
20. 23/10/75, 15.
21. 29/1/76, 15.
22. 20/7/72, 10.
23. 25/9/75, 4.
24. 9/10/75, 15.
25. 11/12/75, 15.

the police.[26] A prisoner at Oswestry was charged with stealing beef worth two shillings and three pence but he escaped from the police and was only caught after a two-mile chase; he was sentenced to seven years penal servitude.[27] At Penarth, a Dutch sailor called Charles Tree murdered his wife and killed himself; he was said to have been jealous of his wife, the former Penarth widow, Cecilia Nicols, who kept a lodging house for sailors; Tree feared she was unfaithful to him.[28] An Irishman named Tremble had murdered John Johnes of Dolau-cothi near Lampeter and when he himself died he was buried near Caeo but the parishoners insisted on his exhumation and burial elsewhere on the ground that it was unfitting for a murderer and his victim to be both buried in the same graveyard.[29] In Anglesey, a young man had killed his brother at Yard Malltraeth, three miles from Bodorgan; he had committed the crime when drunk; the two brothers had been at a dinner in the Joiners' Arms where they were being entertained by their employer; on the way home they had called at another inn, the Royal Oak, and thereafter Robert Roberts had cut the throat of his brother John and left him in a sitting position by the roadside where he was found by a passer-by in the morning.[30] A final sample of this type of news was the strange case of Mrs. Weiss of Fort Wayney in Indiana who at her death weighed two hundred pounds but when her body was exhumed for reburial it was found that she had become petrified and weighed two thousand pounds and her features were still recognisable.[31]

Even more steady and regular were reports of the tragedies with loss of life which were constantly taking place all over the world. Thirty-one died in a rail disaster near Oxford.[32] Five hundred lives were lost in a fire on board the "Cospatrick" in the Atlantic.[33] An earthquake in South America had killed five thousand immediately and nine thousand died later from injuries and shock.[34] An outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease was reported on one hundred and twenty farms in Dorset.[35] A ship foundered off the coast of Yorkshire when forty-two passengers and twenty sailors were drowned.[36] Outbreaks of cholera were reported in Bombay, in the Khasia Hills, in Madras and in Japan.[37] In 1876 two hundred and fifty lives were lost in storms at sea around the British coasts,

26. 1/7/76, 14.
27. 8/7/76, 9.
28. 12/8/76, 7.
29. 2/12/76, 13.
30. 16/12/76, 11.
31. 6/4/78, 7.
32. 2/1/75, 10.
33. 2/1/75, 10.
34. 17/7/75, 12.
35. 23/10/75, 14.
36. 18/12/75, 3.
37. 24/6/76, 13; 6/9/79, 6; 2/10/75, 15; 13/9/79, 7.

while in shipping disasters two thousand lives were lost at sea apart from sailors.[38] Fourteen hundred people were burnt to death in a fire in Tientsin.[39] In 1878 in a storm off the Isle of Wight three hundred and twenty lives were lost when the "Eurydice" sank as it was nearing the end of its journey home from India.[40] There was a further major disaster in the Thames when the pleasure ship, the "Princess Alice," collided with another ship and sank within five minutes; only one hundred and fifty out of the seven hundred on board the "Princess Alice" were rescued.[41] Apart from these titbits of news from all quarters of the world there were also items about tragedies within Wales such as a carriage accident at Barmouth,[42] a fire at an Aberystwyth sawmill causing about £6,000 worth of damage,[43] an outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in Towyn,[44] the death of an old woman in a rail accident at Ebbw Vale,[45] the loss of four lives when a ship foundered in Cardiff,[46] the loss of four lives in a fire on board ship in Cardiff,[47] the death of a railway worker in an accident at Machynlleth,[48] the death by drowning at Aberystwyth of a promising young Welsh musician called Hopkins who was about to go to the Royal Academy of Music in London,[49] the death of three youths aged fourteen, twelve and eleven in a bathing accident at Rhyl,[50] the death of two men in Pembrokeshire after being attacked by a raging bull,[51] a devastating flood in Dyffryn Clwyd which had swept away many animals and implements,[52] and the death of a builder at Barmouth who was struck by a falling stone.[53]

The prevalence of chest complaints brought on by tuberculosis or by work in the mines and the backward state of medical research compared with recent advances is illustrated by the frequent and large size advertisements for such remedies as Pepper's White Cough Mixture, Morgans Horehound Pectoral, Clarke's Blood Mixture, George's Gravel Pills, Hughes' Dropsy Pills, and Gwilym Evans' Quinine Bitters. These cures were advocated with great conviction for years on end and Evans' Bitters were commended in a florid poem composed by Rev. J. Morgan of Lleurug. One baffling problem which still has found no thorough solution was said to be mastered by the use of Lockyer's sulphur Hair Restorer.

38. 30/12/76, 15; 24/2/77, 13; 27/10/77, 7.
39. 16/3/78, 9.
40. 30/3/78, 11.
41. 7/9/78, 13.
42. 17/7/75, 12.
43. 11/9/75, 14.
44. 16/10/75, 13.
45. 16/10/75, 13.
46. 16/10/75, 12.
47. 24/6/76, 13.
48. 28/4/77, 14.
49. 1/9/77, 12; 18/8/77, 14.
50. 15/6/78, 11.
51. 13/7/78, 7.
52. 23/8/79, 4.
53. 24/7/78, 11.

Thus the pages of the paper brought the problems, pains and panaceas of the time into people's homes and so served the purposes of a general newspaper and this must have added to its circulation and popularity. However, the main concern of the paper was with the conditions of life in Wales and in particular with the glories and adversities, the hopes and fears, the aspirations and disappointments, of the Calvinistic Methodists. In leading articles, in reports of denominational meetings, and in the correspondence there appeared ample evidence of dissatisfaction with the denomination as it was, with the Establishment in Church and State, and with the general condition of Welsh affairs. It is notoriously difficult to decide how far the expressions of opinion in the correspondence columns were representative of opinion in the denomination as a whole since it is usually the restless and often disgruntled who are most vocal. Nevertheless opinions were so varied that it is often possible to discern a general concensus somewhere between extremes. Moreover, editorial opinion sought to assess the weight of the various views expressed, and the resolutions adopted by the denominational courts are surer evidence of the mind of the Connexion than are the opinions of letter writers. Moreover, even if letters could be eccentric and twisted the writers often unwittingly and unintentionally provided valuable snatches of information about local customs and beliefs; indeed, the very diversity of the letters may also provide a salutary warning against making rash generalisations about the outlook of the denomination. It is also possible to get a balance by comparing the views expressed in *Y Goleuad* with those set forth in the literature of other denominations.

In assessing the reports of the meetings of the denominational courts it is not long before it is clear that there were a number of towering figures in the Connexion and that no firm conclusion could be drawn about the attitude of the Connexion on most issues until one or more of these figures had expressed their opinion. These outstanding figures were Dr. Lewis Edwards, his brother-in-law, Dr. David Charles, his son, Principal Thomas Charles Edwards, Dr. Owen Thomas, Dr. John Hughes, David Saunders and David Charles Davies. The story of the lives of these leaders has been told in entries in *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography* and in biographical memoirs and obituary notices in *Y Goleuad*, and therefore it is not the purpose of this work to give full accounts

of their lives except in so far as it is necessary for a background to this study and also as they figure in the pages of *Y Goleuad*.

The life of Lewis Edwards, scholar, educationalist, man of literature, and administrator, has recently been written by Trebor Lloyd Evans whose picture of Edwards' colossal industry and vision is fully illustrated in the columns of *Y Goleuad*. Considering the difficulties of travel at that time his journeyings were phenomenal. He was a frequent preacher at special preaching services in connection with Monthly Meetings, Associations and General Assemblies. For example, he addressed the General Assembly in Aberystwyth in 1878 on the Person of Christ and set forth his argument in the striking sentences: "All truth is in Christ; the Atonement is in His Person; He is the Atonement; He came to earth to fill heaven; He went to heaven to fill the earth."[54] There are records of his sermons during this decade in Manchester,[55] Liverpool,[56] Chester,[57] Ffestiniog,[58] Caerlleon,[59] and many other places in Wales including Bala.[60] He travelled long distances to speak or give the charge at inductions of ministers, most of whom had been his former students.[61] He attended funeral services of many ministers.[62] He patronised and adjudicated at eisteddfodau.[63] He campaigned for disestablishment.[64] He encouraged the founding of new chapels, particularly English-speaking chapels but he was ready to travel to attend the opening of chapels, both English-speaking and Welsh-speaking.[65] He also presided at meetings of the Association and the General Assembly and he gave the charge at ordinations in the Associations in the North and South.[66]

He laid great emphasis in his sermons upon personal religion. He said the great sermons were not those which cost most in the study but in the secret place with God.[67] Theology was not just a series of propositions but a resting upon the one foundation, Jesus Christ, and though it was important to study Owen, Augustine and Calvin, these great figures must not be allowed to obscure the living contact with Christ Himself. This, however, did not mean a flight from the hard realities of life; preaching had to be practical: "Don't stay up in the air." A true understanding

54. "Y mae pob gwirionedd ynddo Ef; y mae yr Iawn yn ei Berson; Ef yw yr Iawn; . . . Daeth i'r ddaear i lenwi y nefoedd; aeth i'r nefoedd i lenwi y ddaear": 8/6/78, 4.
55. 11/4/74, 7. 56. 22/5/75, 11; 15/6/78, 10. 57. 5/10/72, 5.
58. 5/7/79, 5. 59. 13/9/79, 7. 60. 21/12/78, 6.
61. 24/8/72, 4; 5/12/74, 12; 29/5/75, 10. 62. 31/1/74, 5; 27/7/78, 12.
63. 30/1/75, 16. 64. 27/3/75, 11. 65. 13/7/78, 11.
66. 4/4/75, 4; 13/11/75, 4; 11/8/77, 7. 67. 30/5/74, 5.

of Christ as God and man would serve to emphasise the duty of men amid the common things of life.[68]

While he was a convinced son of the Connexion he could rise above any narrow party feeling and see good wherever it was to be found. He attended a meeting about the repair of Llanycil parish Church near Bala and he was elected a member of the Committee to carry out the work and he said he accepted because the rector was a quiet and co-operative man and because he wished to do to others what he would want them to do to him and also because the Church at Llanycil had hallowed associations for him since three of his daughters were buried in the churchyard.[69]

In 1875 he was given a presentation which amounted to £2,600 and was in fact a national testimonial. *Y Goleuad* said he had left a deep and ineradicable impression on the mind of the nation and had rendered priceless service to the Connexion; *Y Goleuad* also paid tribute to his work as a thinker and said his work on the Atonement had thrown more light on the subject than any work since Anselm because he had combined the Arminian emphasis on the universal appeal of grace with the Calvinist stress upon particularity.[70] In accepting the gift Edwards said he did not think he had done much for Calvinistic Methodism but he did think he had suffered most for it; he had been attacked for most of the causes he had advocated but especially for his stress on the pastorate system but he did not regret what he had done; for though there was a need for preachers there was an urgent need for pastors and he hoped he would see one hundred students in the college at Bala.[71] In 1877 a lifesize portrait of Edwards was given to the College by Mr. Robert Wright of Denbigh; it had cost £120 and was painted by Mr. Jerry Barratt of London.[72]

Edwards had the marks of unmistakable greatness and one writer hailed him as a giant in every aspect of Welsh life.[73] In 1879 a writer commented that Edwards would soon be seventy years of age but he looked the same as he had done at forty and his eye had lost nothing of its sparkle and penetration; he had

68. "Pregethwch yr Arglwydd Iesu Grist yn wir Dduw ac yn wir ddyn; pregethwch ras Duw ar y naill law, a dyletswydd dyn ar y llaw arall: deuwch i lawr at y pethau cyffredin": 5/12/74, 12.
69. 6/10/77, 11; 31/5/79, 11.
70. 6/3/75, 8. 71. 19/6/75, 8. 72. 29/9/77, 13.
73. "Prif gewri athrofaol, y pulpud, cerddoriaeth, dysg a llenyddiaeth Gymreig": 21/6/79, 10.

brought about many changes in Wales in his lifetime and had shaped the life of the Connexion; like Gladstone he was a stern man of truth.[74]

His brother-in-law, David Charles, had shared with him the toils involved in opening the College at Bala and then had gone to Trevecka to be the pioneer of the College in that spot redolent with memories of Howell Harris and the origins of the Calvinistic Methodist movement. Then after a period as pastor in Abercarn he became the first registrar of the new University College in Aberystwyth and did much of the preliminary organisation. When his nephew, Thomas Charles Edwards, was appointed Principal, Charles felt that his work had been completed and he resigned and became minister at Aberdyfi where he died in 1878. When he died *Y Goleuad* said his passing was like the fall of a giant whose name had become a household word in Wales. His sudden death was stunning since apart from a touch of bronchitis during the preceding two winters he gave no sign of declining powers. His death at sixty-six brought to an end his great service in the pulpit and to literature and education. The conservative habits of the period can be noted when it is recorded that he and his family took several holidays in Pennal, a few miles from Aberdyfi, so as to benefit from a change of air; it was there he preached on the last Sunday of his life. Holidays in Pennal sound strange to a generation which counts a holiday as nothing unless it takes them at least to the Iberian peninsula. All the leading figures of the Connexion attended his funeral at Llanidloes. Lewis Edwards spoke at the funeral and said that Charles' parents had brought him up in the Church of England and Edwards took the opportunity of rebuking his own critics by saying that Charles would have got more esteem than he had got from some Calvinistic Methodists if he had stayed in the Church of England. Edwards said there had been a mystical quality about Charles' spiritual life; he had believed not in a point but in a person, and not in a person who had died but in the living person of the immortal Son of God. Edwards pursued this theme in a memorial sermon in Aberdyfi.[75] *Y Goleuad* said Charles had lived on heights not appreciated by Welsh people whose reading never got much beyond the Sunday School level. Few knew much about the classics of à Kempis or Gurnal or even Bunyan but Charles had ranged widely in his studies and had realised that there was more than fear in Christianity; he knew

74. 8/11/79, 5. 75. 21/12/78, 11.

there was a holy joy in the relationship with Christ.[76] A correspondent said that Charles had met Palmerston when on a visit to Lady Llanover and Palmerston had been amazed at the width of his knowledge.[77]

Thomas Charles Edwards had the great initial advantage of having his father's name and achievements behind him and he was also the right age to be among the first nonconformist students to enter Oxford University, but he had also remarkable natural talents to enable him to make the most of these opportunities. His academic career was one of sustained brilliance and when he decided to follow his father's footsteps and enter the Calvinistic Methodist ministry he was destined to become an influential figure in the Connexion. Added to his great academic prestige he had a gift of intense and captivating eloquence which conveyed to his hearers a sense of devotion to Jesus Christ at the very centre of his life. He began his ministry in an English cause in Liverpool,[78] but he was soon in demand as a speaker all over Wales. In 1872 he was chosen to be the first Principal of the new University College at Aberystwyth and despite a somewhat autocratic temperament which made for internal tensions his renown was an enormous advantage to the infant college. His attitude on many Connexional matters could be at times somewhat perverse but he nevertheless helped to shape the policy of the Connexion in almost every aspect of its life as these pages will show. As an exponent of the Christian's debt and devotion to Christ he had few equals; he told the General Assembly in Aberdare in 1872 that the basic fact of Christianity was the Christian's union with Christ which was the root and inspiration of Christian conduct; true Christian conduct was not obedience to a code of laws but the expression of a spiritual life which freely took upon itself the duty of using every power given by God, including the duty of caring for others; since Christ had given a new beginning to the human race believers were a new people with duties towards each other and a work to do in the world.[79] In his position in Aberystwyth he had to address the students and he told them that intellectually they had to be thorough students, and morally, Christian gentlemen.[80] Like his father, he was indefatigable in his journeys to all kinds of Connexional meetings at local and provincial level. He presided at innumerable College, Church and municipal functions in Aber-

76. 21/12/78, 8. 77. 1/3/79, 4. 78. See p. 105.
79. 6/7/72, 4. 80. 1/3/73, 6.

ystwyth.[81] His preaching journeys took him far afield at unusual times as when he preached in Trawsfynydd on Christmas Day, 1877.[83] He preached at the re-opening of the English chapel in Pembroke Dock when the collection was £101 14s. 4½d.[83] He was Moderator of the Monthly Meeting in North Cardiganshire in 1875.[84] He visited Liverpool for various important meetings such as the Whitsuntide Festival in the Philharmonic Hall.[85] He lectured in Liverpool on Biblical expositions, starting from Paul and going through the Antiochene and Alexandrian schools and then through the teaching of the main Reformers; he said Calvin was a man of steady judgement and a fairness of mind which did not shirk difficulties. He condemned those who searched the Scriptures with a Creed in the hand and tested verses by the Creed; they ought first to find what the text meant without putting it through the mould of preconceived ideas and there was also a need of a prayerful approach.[86]

The *Liverpool Leader* paid a remarkable tribute to Edwards as a dreaming enthusiast and a cultured gentleman with great critical powers and a wide command of words; his theme was "Christ first, Christ last, Christ always, Christ everywhere"; the writer questioned the fitness of a phrase used by Edwards, "Christ died of a broken heart," but said that nothing could reduce the impression of a powerful enthusiasm.[87]

David Charles Davies had a remarkable ministry in London in Jewin Crescent during the decade under review. His health was far from good at this time and he wished to retire from Jewin but he was persuaded to try to spend six months in each year in Jewin for the following two years. Many parents felt he was a great rallying point for young people from Wales amid the temptations of "this great Babylon.[88] He gained wide fame in London and in Wales through his public lectures which dealt with no frivolous levities but with solid themes covering a wide range of interests mostly in the field of the relations between science and religion.[89] He refused invitations to become Principal of Trevecka and of Bala but at a later date he was prevailed upon to become Principal of Trevecka. His interest in scientific subjects was awakened by his studies in London where he graduated and

81. 29/4/76, 12; 12/5/77, 4; 15/11/79, 5; 12/12/79, 11.
83. 17/8/78, 13. 82. 5/1/78, 7. 84. 12/6/75, 7.
85. 7/6/79, 12. 86. 27/9/79, 9. 87. 24/5/73, 5.
88. 29/4/76, 12.
89. 16/3/78, 11; 21/9/78, 13; 1/3/79, 12; 15/11/79, 4.

where he was a medallist in mathematics. *Y Goleuad* published a report that he was to receive a D.D. from Glasgow University but this never materialised; no reference is made to the matter in the biography of Davies, and Glasgow University knows nothing about the report.[90]

Dr. Owen Thomas had many talents and he took immense pains to cultivate them; his great influence in the Connexion was the fruit of unremitting toil. He was born in Holyhead in 1812; his family moved to Bangor in 1827 and he soon became active in Sunday School work and in the Bible Society where he came into contact with Dean Cotton of Bangor who opened out to him prospects of education if he would become a member of the Church of England but he chose to remain in the Connexion within which he had been born. He became a stone-mason and was employed in the building of Penrhyn Castle, the last major castle built in Britain, and it was reported that he spent his lunch-hour studying Latin and Greek. In 1834 he began to preach and for the next fifty-five years he was a frequent open-air preacher. He was also a keen supporter of the Temperance Movement and made a tour of South Wales to advocate the cause; he also addressed the Association in Haverfordwest and the Association in Bala in 1837 on the same theme. In 1838 he went to Bala and in 1841 to Edinburgh University though his finances did not allow him to stay the four years necessary to qualify for a degree. Then in 1844 he began his ministry in Pwllheli; subsequently he ministered in Newtown, London and Liverpool. He was several times Moderator of the Association in the North and was twice Moderator of the General Assembly and in 1890 he received a gift of £1,400 from his admirers; apart from the gift given to Lewis Edwards this must have been a record presentation to any minister of the Connexion in the Victorian era. He amassed and digested a vast library and gained great influence as preacher, counsellor and statesman within the Connexion.[91] He was made a D.D. by Princeton, New Jersey, in 1887.

Dr. John Hughes was born in Llannerch-y-medd in 1827 into a family notable for its loyalty to the Connexion. He himself became an elder in 1848 and was accepted as a preacher at an Association in Llangefni in 1849. He preached for some years in

90. 29/4/76, 9; Parry, E. Wynne, *Cofiant a Phregethau David Charles Davies*. See also YBC.
91. 6/8/91, 8; Roberts, J. J., *Cofiant Owen Thomas*.

Porthaethwy where he also did some pastoral work. He had not received a call from the congregation but eventually he was ordained to the full work of the ministry in an ordination Association in Llanrwst in June 1854. In 1857 he moved to Liverpool and remained there until 1889 when he moved to Engedi in Caernarvon. In 1876 he made a journey to America where he received the D.D. of the University of Washington and Jefferson. It is of interest to note that Hughes and Thomas were both known throughout Wales as Dr. Hughes and Dr. Thomas but the *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* makes no reference to their doctorates, perhaps an indication that these American degrees are not held in high regard by modern academic purists. Even more surprising was the fact that no mention of the source of Dr. Thomas' doctorate is to be found in the obituary tributes in *Y Goleuad*, and in the case of Dr. Hughes there was no reference to the source of his doctorate in the main obituary survey of his life but a belated reference was made in an obscure corner in the next issue.[92]

One of the younger ministers of the period was John Cynddylan Jones who from 1869 to 1875 was minister of a well-known Congregational church in London. During these years he did not sever his links with Wales where he made preaching pilgrimages during most summers; for example, in 1872 he preached in the English chapels in Aberystwyth, Tywyn and Dolgellau.[93] He returned to Wales in 1875 to become minister of Frederick Street English-speaking chapel in Cardiff. Thereafter he had a long, stormy, distinguished, and at times notorious ministry and was in much demand as a preacher and as a speaker in all parts of Wales. Despite stormy interludes in his relations with the Connexion he was given many honours and was a frequent preacher at Associations and at preaching festivals.[94] He spoke at many induction services, especially in English-speaking causes.[95] He was also in much demand as a lecturer and he spoke on such topics as "Martin Luther" and "The Gift of Tongues."[96] He had a remarkable gift for the apt and telling expression and also for the pointed and often shamelessly barefaced allusion to the peculiarities of other people and this often made him a terror in debate. Nevertheless, he had a fertility and brilliance of mind which could always produce the interesting and valuable comment on any topic. He told the

92. 27/10/93, 8; 3/11/93, 4.
93. 31/8/72, 4. See YBC.
94. 22/9/77, 14; 19/10/78, 13; 13/9/79, 7; 15/11/79, 7.
95. 18/8/77, 7.
96. 15/9/77, 19; 20/10/77, 5.

Association in Newquay in 1877 that the whole man had to be dealt with in preaching the Gospel and in the pastoral ministry; it was not enough to stress the inner feelings and emotions raised through preaching for if the aim was only to turn inwards it was a turning to darkness; there was a need to turn to Christ.[97] He was a keen supporter of Gladstone's policy in the Balkans and the Middle East and said that God, like Queen Victoria, gave local self-government; the kingdoms of the earth were parishes in His Empire, and when the kingdoms fell out with their Emperor the prospect was dark, as when America and the Court of Heaven were out of accord over the slave-trade, and also now that Britain was out of accord with the Court of Heaven over the Eastern Question; the dispute with the Court of St. Petersburg was as nothing compared with the dispute with the Court of Heaven.[98]

Jones was also a prolific writer, and though much of his work failed to commend itself to many of his readers there were marks of genius in his works; he was of the opinion that the Connexion had never appreciated his true worth but *Y Goleuad* at least printed a generous review of his commentary on the *Acts of the Apostles*. The reviewer said the work displayed a mind of genius which had reached its full maturity and also showed an insatiable love of the truth as it was in Jesus; to this work he brought wide treasures from his reading in Plato, Kant, Goethe, Shakespeare, to mention only some of the writers he quoted.[99]

These were notable figures, the memory of whose impact upon Wales was kept fresh in reminiscence and anecdote and in biographical accounts. They were outstanding figures in their own time but there were many others who were gifted as preachers and pastors, advocates and administrators; many of them will appear in this survey as the period proceeds. When it is recalled that they were leaders at a time when ecclesiastical affairs loomed large in the national life it is no surprise that the columns of *Y Goleuad* were rarely devoid of items of interest or that subjects of wide current appeal were treated with profundity and penetration.

97. 3/11/77, 7.
98. 25/5/78, 6.
99. 14/12/78, 4.

Chapter II.

CALVINISTIC METHODISM IN WALES

Calvinistic Methodism had its origins in a movement within the Church of England. Though it was related to the Methodist movement in England, it had started in 1735, three years before Wesley began his great work in England, and it had a characteristic Welsh quality about it.[1] This quality, though somewhat diluted as many old issues have lost their vitality, is nevertheless still a definite, if intangible, aspect of Welsh Calvinistic Methodism; even an outsider can usually sense the difference from Independents and the Baptists. Though this form of Methodism has assumed the mantle of Presbyterianism in Wales it still remains distinct from other forms of Presbyterianism in Great Britain and Ireland. The persistence of the language of Wales has been a notable factor in preserving this distinctiveness and there has gathered around the denomination a vocabulary which for the Welsh speaker has rich overtones which are almost impossible to convey in translation. "Yr Hen Gorff" is a name for the denomination which evokes a complex sense of loyalty and longing; the title means 'The Old Body" but it is rich in suggestions of the corporate cohesion which has survived many crises and which has knit the whole body together in a way not known in independent churches. "Y Cyfundeb" is quite accurately translated as "The Connexion"; this stands for the mutual relationship of the members and congregations within the whole connected body; this title is still widely used though it has become less and less evocative as the denomination has become more and more conscious of itself as a Church and not simply as a reforming connexion within the Church of England.

"Y Sasiwn" or "Y Gymdeithasfa," rather bleakly translated as "The Association," raises memories of large gatherings where notable preachers were heard, where fateful decision were made, where a rich fellowship was enjoyed and where men were ordained to the ministry. There were meetings of the Association in both the North and South and this tended to make the Connexion in the North and in the South into two separate bodies. "Y Gymanfa Gyffredinol" or The General Assembly was set up in an attempt to

1. Knox, R. B., "The Wesleys and Howell Harris" in *Studies in Church History*, III, p. 267, note 1, where there is a bibliography of the sources and other material.

bring the two sections more closely together.[2] "Y Cwrdd Misol" is another evocative name; this is a gathering of ministers and elders in a certain area usually covering part of a county; one of the results of the move towards a presbyterian order has been the adoption of the name "Henaduriaeth" or Presbytery, but the old name is still widely used. It sounds somewhat trite when translated as "The Monthly Meeting" but it has associations with great events in the life of congregations, of ministers and of students; it was in The Monthly Meeting that students were tested and commended for reception as preachers or as candidates for the full work of the ministry.[3]

The local church met for worship on Sundays, but during the week it had a meeting known as a "Seiat" which was one of the most influential organs of the church. It can be translated as a "Society" which is a term well-known in Wesleyan Methodism but the Welsh form has been so distinctive that the word "Seiat" has been taken over into English usage. The Seiat was a forum for debate, for decision about the life of the church, for the receiving of new members and for tributes to members who had passed away. Around its proceedings there gathered a considerable folklore concerning the peculiarities of many a "blaenor" or elder, and concerning the experiences of conviction, of repentance and of testimony which had taken place in the Seiadau across the years. Unlike the custom in other forms of Presbyterianism elders were known as deacons and they did not form a court or Session whose decisions could only be reversed on appeal to a higher court; elders were subject to the congregation, though there were strong elders who had sufficient influence to shape the decisions of the congregation as they wished.

An engagement to preach in a chapel was known as a "Cyhoeddiad" which sounds somewhat brash and self-advertising when translated as a Publication but which originally meant that every invitation to preach was an opportunity to proclaim the Gospel. The fee given to preachers was known as "Cydnabyddiaeth" or Acknowledgement of services rendered to God and to the people.

There were men who rose to eminence at every level of the life of the Connexion. At the congregational level complaints were made of a petty tyranny exercised by elders, particularly by the elder who was in charge of the pulpit arrangements; it was alleged

2. 14/6/73, 8. See p. 33. 3. See p. 50.

that these officials would only give publications to those who fawned upon them for their favours; many young men refused to do so and were therefore deprived of opportunities of preaching.[4] There were even suggestions that where so much itineracy was involved there was a danger of simony. *Y Goleuad* thought the system worked as well as any system devised by other denominations, but it admitted there were some disgruntled elders who saw the pastoral system as a curtailment of their authority over the pulpit for many Sundays in the year.[5]

In the Monthly Meeting there were said to be some ministers who carved out little empires for themselves and secured offices to which they clung for years and in which they developed dictatorial and priestly characteristics. In one Monthly Meeting there were three hundred and forty elders and thirty-eight ministers, but due to the absence of many elders ministers got the reins of power into their hands. This charge was not readily admitted and there were writers ready to point out that ministers rarely voted as a block against elders and it was stressed that a competent minister by holding office for some years could gain an experience which would be an invaluable benefit to the work of the Monthly Meeting as a whole.[6]

It was surely a dyspeptic writer signing himself "Mephibosheth" who said that the Monthly Meeting had outlived its usefulness and had been monopolised by four or five persons who would not allow others to speak while they themselves often spoke just for the sake of speaking.[7] There were also complaints about a perfunctory performance of the business, particularly in the testing of candidates for the office of preacher; it was alleged that in Lleyn candidates had been accepted who had not been heard preaching by any minister but on the strength of a recommendation by three elders who were not competent to judge, and so young men were launched haphazardly on a course which could eventually lead to ordination.[8] It was also hinted that some men tended to get pushed forward and to dominate the proceedings because of their connections or their property, though their only quality was that they liked to hear the sound of their own voices.[9] *Y Goleuad* thought that such disorder as there was was not due to weaknesses in the system but to a tendency to circumvent the system; it also thought there

4. 29/11/73, 5; 10/8/78, 4. 5. 17/10/74, 8; 10/3/77, 8; 3/11/77, 17.
6. 18/12/75, 4. 7. 29/1/75, 4. 8. 16/9/76, 4.
9. 13/10/77, 5.

was value in triennial changes of officers as it prevented them from becoming swollen-headed and autocratic and gave many ministers and elders the opportunity of gaining administrative experience; if there were men with special aptitudes they could be re-elected, while an inefficient man could be dropped from office without offence. *Y Goleuad* admitted there were some arguments for a form of episcopacy since capable men would be encouraged to master the details of administration if they knew they would be in office long enough to form and carry out a policy; knowledge and efficiency were closely linked together.[10]

The frequency of connexional gatherings was often judged to be excessive. The Association met at quarterly intervals in both North and South and these along with the General Assembly meant nine major assemblies in the year which involved a large expenditure and a heavy burden of hospitality. It was suggested that it would be sufficient to have two Association meetings in the North and two in the South as well as the annual General Assembly. Moreover, there was not only a widespread belief that the meetings of the Associations were too frequent in number but also that they were badly organised and badly managed. In particular, there was criticism of the arrangements for the Association held in 1877 in Llangeitho, "the Jerusalem of Wales." One writer said that it was good to see between eight and ten thousand flocking to the services but it was less edifying to see some men hunting for office and proposing each other for various offices so as to have a finger in every pie.[11] It would not have been so bad if they had known how to conduct business when in office, but speakers were often out of order and there was no order in the business. It was stated that the election of the new Moderator had taken place in a schoolroom at the close of an evening sederunt when the light was bad and when some had used two voting papers. Moreover, the arrangements for getting the visitors to their lodgings had been very inadequate.[12] Further complaints poured in about the placing of the choral conductor who was too far away from the choir and also about the haphazard distribution of tickets for the platform and for meals.[13] There was a further complaint from a minister who said he had booked a seat on a carriage from Tregaron to Llangeitho but had been ousted by another minister, but this minister replied that it was he himself who had hired the carriage

10. 21/12/78, 9. 11. 25/8/77, 4. 12. 1/9/77, 5.
13. 22/8/77, 4.

in the first instance and he also pointed out that the minister who was flaunting his grievance had eventually been taken in the carriage and had no ground for complaint.[14] The disorder in Llangeitho was said to be all the more reprehensible because Llangeitho had for generations been accustomed to receiving Association meetings; compared with what occurred at Llangeitho the arrangements at a recent Association in Aberaeron were perfection and that was the first Association ever to be held in Aberaeron: "The former glory of Llangeitho cannot cover over its present disarray."[15]

The Caernarvon Association in August 1878 was said to have been noteworthy for its hospitality, weather and crowds, but perfection had not yet been achieved and one writer complained that the elders' meeting had been mismanaged by its chairman and secretary who had allowed one and a half hours to be spent wandering around various topics.[16] Rev. J. Morgan Jones, Cardiff, told an Association meeting in Brecon that the affairs of the Connexion were badly managed and said that the Moderator and secretary should have power to arrange details of procedure and so avoid disorders such as the occasion when two hundred members attending the Llansamlet Association spent two hours in deciding who would begin the ordination service.[17]

Complaints flared up again in 1879. One writer thought that the Connexional courts often met in small centres where the burden of catering and hospitality was beyond the local resources; he also repeated the old charge that cliques pushed their own men into offices and that there were many who for the sake of advancement were ready to use others as stepping-stones and trample them under foot.[18] He was also saddened to think that many of those who ruled the party caucuses in the Association had in their own youth been agitators and radicals just as youthful radicals in politics had a habit of becoming the hottest elderly Tories.[19] Another complained about the inept behaviour of the Moderator of the Association in Aberporth, who though he was an M.A. and a Ph.D., had to be taught a lesson in elementary mathematics when he failed to realise that the wishes of six Monthly Meetings were weightier than those of three; he also alleged that three men coming from within four miles of each other had been pushed into the chief offices; he also told of a minister who had been found

14. 29/9/77, 5. 15. 22/9/77, 4. 16. 14/9/78, 4.
17. 19/10/78, 6. 18. 31/5/79, 11. 19. 14/6/79, 11.

guilty of defrauding the railway company but whom the Association thought it sufficient to suspend from preaching for a few weeks; he was also irate because a popular preacher, known for the selectivity with which he accepted invitations to preach, took it upon himself to tell others to be content if they failed to get preaching engagements at times and places which they considered convenient to themselves; he was equally disgusted with the Trevecka professor who argued against any increase in student grants and gave as his reason that the students could earn money for themselves while the available college funds could be used for necessary repairs to professors' houses; "doubtless he will on this account be beloved by the students and admired by the Connexion." Such instances, in the view of the writer, were only a few samples of the sad state of the Association in the South; if it were not so serious it would be laughable; "If you hear of any who are downcast and in need of amusement, send them to the Association in the South."[20] This attack elicited a fierce reply; if the critic had prescribed *The Chairman and Speaker's Guide* for the Moderator he himself needed to buy *The Gentleman's Etiquette* for it seemed that he had reached the stage of thinking that he alone was fit for any office.[21] Another writer said that the critics were concerned with petty matters of procedure which were of no significance compared with the parasitic and rampant evils of gluttony, drunkenness, adultery, wantonness, envy, lying, covetousness and injustice.[22]

Y Goleuad thought that the strictures were over-severe and poor-spirited and at one point suggested that future complaints would probably not be published unless the name and address of the writers were also published; however, neither then nor later has it been possible to eradicate the endemic cult of anonymity from Welsh denominational papers.[23] *Y Goleuad* did admit that the frequent absence of leading ministers and elders from Associations gave scope for the manoeuvres of lesser men.[24] It also said that the North was characterised by order and the South by freedom but order had to take precedence since if there was no order in a society whose authority was essentially moral there would soon be anarchy.[25] However, it also pointed out that the points under attack were mainly of secondary importance while the real weaknesses were in the quality and consistency of the lives of the

20. 7/6/79, 9. 21. 21/6/79, 12. 22. 28/6/79, 16; 23/8/79, 12.
23. 6/10/77, 8. 24. 22/6/78, 10. 25. 4/10/79, 8.

people: thousands of those attending Sunday Schools were apparently strangers to the rule of the Gospel.[26]

The critics were not silenced and one said that none of his attacks on the Aberporth Association had been refuted.[27] When the Association met in Llandovery in August 1879 it was proposed that in order to curtail misrepresentation the press should be debarred from the proceedings but, largely due to the advocacy of Cynddylan Jones, this was rejected; quite apart from the fact that the critics were very probably not reporters sent by the newspapers it would be a great loss if no reports appeared in the press; the public would think the Association had died and many members would be disappointed if they did not see their little speeches in print; reporters and editors could indeed give a particular and even damaging slant to speeches but the safest guarantee of good coverage would lie in the good sense of speakers who ought to take care to say nothing which would bring shame if reported.[28] *Y Goleuad* also agreed that there would be nothing to fear from the press if members themselves sought to elevate the proceedings.[29] There was also sound reason for suggesting that healthy criticism would have been better made on the floor of the Connexional courts where complaints would have to be substantiated in the presence of those who would be in a position to challenge them.[30] *Y Goleuad* admitted that the spate of criticism under the protection of anonymity might signify a factious spirit and an unrest which was not confined to foolish and fickle people but it also refused to believe that the Connexion had contracted a fatal disease; if the pulpits of the Connexion were to be silent the land would become a place of grief; "The helm of the Connexion is in the hand of Him whom the winds and waves obey."[31]

There were various suggestions as to how the proceedings of the Connexional courts could be improved. Lewis Edwards believed that there was room for great improvement and he was convinced that the necessary improvement could be brought about by an injection of Presbyterianism into the Connexional structure. In Scotland he had seen the effective growth of the Free Church on Presbyterian lines under the leadership of Chalmers, and, quite apart from the cogency of the Scriptural evidence used to justify a Presbyterian structure, Edwards was moved by his admiration for Chalmers and his first-hand knowledge of the Scottish situation

26. 7/6/79, 9. 27. 28/6/79, 17. 28. 16/8/79, 4.
29. 23/8/79, 8. 30. 24/1/77, 10. 31. 10/3/77, 8.

to campaign for the introduction of Presbyterian features into the Calvinistic Methodist structure. Even if he had so desired there would have been resistance to a wholesale transformation of the Connexion into a standard form of Presbyterianism. The main objection would have been to the establishment of Sessions in each congregation whereby final decisions in local matters were entrusted to a court comprising the minister and the elders; this development has not taken place in Wales. However, by 1869 there had been a considerable grafting of presbyterian ideas and the result was a hybrid form of church structure. Even these modest changes were not always welcome and the general view was that no drastic remodelling was required but rather a more efficient use of the existing machinery.[32] The Methodist label was an unconscious part of the heritage of the Connexion in many parts of Wales and at the local level there was little pressure to adopt a presbyterian label and in many strongly-Welsh areas the Methodist name is still naturally used. Others were more conscious of the trend to Presbyterianism at the level of the Monthly Meeting and the General Assembly and they often disliked it. *Y Goleuad* insisted that the Calvinistic Methodist name should be retained as the legal name and claimed, not without justification, that the adoption of such a title as The Welsh Presbyterian Church would introduce confusion and involve the use of a name associated in Wales with Unitarianism.[33]

Evidence of this dislike was quite common. For example, when the English cause in Machynlleth was being formed, an advertisement was issued asking for tenders for the erection of the English Presbyterian Chapel, but a comment appeared in *Y Goleuad* questioning this title on the ground that since the Connexion did not permit a second baptism it was unorthodox to change the baptismal name of Calvinistic Methodism.[34] Another writer wondered why the English cause in Aberystwyth was called Presbyterian because, in the writer's opinion, there were no better Methodists in Wales than the members of that chapel.[35] Another objection to the presbyterian label was that its use would cause confusion outside Wales and would obscure the special Welsh heritage which was both Protestant and Methodist.[36]

At the Association in St. David's in 1879 the retiring Moderator, Dr. J. Harries Jones, said there were clear parallels between the

32. 25/10/79, 12. 33. 3/7/75, 8; 24/7/75, 5. 34. 26/2/76, 14.
35. 8/12/77, 14. 36. 4/11/76, 8.

Monthly Meetings and the higher courts on the one hand and the Presbyteries and the General Assembly of Presbyterianism on the other but he expressed the general objection to local courts composed of the minister and elders who could make decisions for and apart from the congregation; the authority of the Church meeting would never be surrendered in the Connexion. He thought that the presbyterianising of the Connexion had gone as far as it was likely to go and the initial trend had cooled; there was no desire among the members of the churches for further change. Dr. Jones said that the desire to cling to the old name was not taken up in any exclusive sense but simply because the Connexion believed that matters of organisation were left to the mind of the Church as it pondered and acted in its own circumstances; the Connexion did not think this was inconsistent with a desire to keep the unity of the whole Church in the bond of peace.[37]

There was considerable interest in the formation of a World Presbyterian Alliance; this would not, of course, involve any internal changes in the Connexion or place the Connexion under any external authority since such an Alliance would be no more than a consultative and advisory body. Therefore, when a preparatory conference was held in Edinburgh in 1876 *Y Goleuad* welcomed the venture as a step to repair the divisions which had been far too prevalent since the very first days of the Church; unlike much seventeenth-century Presbyterianism the aim of the Alliance was not to belittle any other denomination but to show that Presbyterianism was scriptural, avoided autocracy and could exist within states having very different patterns of civil government. *Y Goleuad* nevertheless insisted that within the Alliance the Connexion had a special witness to bear; the aim should not be to advertise Presbyterianism or any other institutional name but to proclaim the Gospel and to show that a concern for right living had a precedence over concern for right thinking.[38]

The relationship with the Presbyterian Church of England was a more explosive topic because contiguity could involve change if talk about co-operation were put to the test. There was a difference of ethos due to the predominant Scottish roots of the Presbyterian Church of England and many Welsh Calvinistic Methodists felt uneasy in the sober formality of the Presbyterian Church of England. Moreover, not a few Scots who came to Wales attended the Anglican church and seemed to Welsh people to be a race

37. 1/11/79, 7. 38. 31/7/75, 8.

apart. When Calvinistic Methodists went to England they tended to go to churches other than those of the Presbyterian Church of England and even to this day in towns where there is a church belonging to the Presbyterian Church of England and a church belonging to the Connexion, as in Cardiff, Chester, Swansea and Shrewsbury, their relationship is usually one of co-existence rather than a co-operating kinship.[39]

Perhaps the most notable attempt to approximate to Presbyterianism is to be seen in the General Assembly but it has to be confessed that this body has not gained a commanding and outstanding authority and influence in the Connexion. *Y Goleuad* thought that it was overshadowed by a surfeit of meetings of the Associations.[40] It has also tended to reflect the tensions between North and South and has not had the stimulus of bearing responsibility for action since final decisions, especially in the matters of finance and property, have still to be made in the Associations which have to ratify most of the legislative activity of the Assembly. Thus by the time that the law came into effect the situation for which it was designed had often radically altered. Moreover, legislation could be so amended in the course of its passage through the courts that in the end it had become quite different from what its originators had hoped, though it does not follow that such changes were changes for the worse.[41] It was argued that the General Assembly being a representative assembly, unlike the Association at which all ministers and elders were entitled to attend and at which they could speak and vote, would not be granted the final power of decision. To meet this difficulty it was suggested that the representation should be much wider. As it was the Assembly was made up of two ministers and two elders from each Monthly Meeting, one minister and one elder from each English-speaking Presbytery, Moderators and Secretaries of Associations, past Moderators of Assembly, Convenors of Committees, and others who had been appointed to read papers; this amounted to one hundred and ten and would normally be less than that since several members were likely to be there in a dual capacity. *Y Goleuad* thought there could be a threefold increase in the representation and the extra burden of hospitality would be worthwhile if thereby the Assembly could be given a greater power and influence; it was also thought, though for no specified reason, that in a larger group leaders would be kept in their place and would

39. 8/4/76, 5. 40. 19/6/75, 10; 18/5/78, 8. 41. 16/2/78, 9.

seem less dominant.[42] A joint meeting of Association representatives was held in Machynlleth and it submitted to meetings of the Association in the North at Llanfair-ym-Mochnant and of the Association in the South at Aberporth a plan for the reorganisation of the Assembly. The plan suggested that two representatives were to be sent by each English-speaking presbytery and by the Monthly Meetings of London and Manchester; four were to be sent by all Monthly Meetings with under five thousand members and six by those with over five thousand; it was also proposed as a further bond within the Connexion that representatives from the North should attend ordination Associations in the South, and some from the South should likewise go to the North.[43] At Aberporth, Cynddylan Jones told the Association that the Connexion was really divided into two bodies financially and administratively and it would be for the good of both to be brought into closer harmony.[44]

There was a suggestion that the Assembly could be given a new effectiveness and continuity if Moderators were appointed to hold office for more than one meeting.[45] *Y Goleuad* thought that Moderators could do much to give the Connexion a lead; they could make their addresses a kind of "Queen's Speech" showing what needed to be done within the Connexion; by word and action they could help to bind the aims and policies of North and South into a harmonious whole.[46] One difficulty in the way of fulfilling such a suggestion was, and is, that the Moderator gives his address when he is retiring and therefore is in no position to give the leadership in realising any policy he might enunciate. Nevertheless, in the period under review, there were notable Moderators who did try to fulfil some such function.

Lewis Edwards' Moderatorial address saw the work of the Church as a mission whether at home or in Khasia in India; there was no town in Wales where there was not a great work to be done; he said there were scores in Wales who were full of the spirit of unbelief and who were never within sound of the Gospel and, in his view, the young were being largely neglected.[47] This was a rather startling admission in view of the widespread work of the Sunday schools.

Rev. William Williams, in his address as Moderator in 1876 looked back over twelve years since the first Assembly had met with the redoubtable Henry Rees in the Chair and he said there

42. 23/2/78, 9. 43. 20/4/78, 4; cf. 12/12/74, 8. 44. 24/5/79, 10.
45. 23/8/79, 8. 46. 20/2/75, 9. 47. 26/5/77, 4.

was reason for thanksgiving for the continued existence of the Connexion and for the blessing which still attended its work. He said that John Elias, in one of his trying and petulant moods, had told the Association in Dolgellau in 1840 that Calvinistic Methodism had been in existence for one hundred years but because of the failings of the young ministers it would not survive for another fifty years; almost forty of those fifty years had passed and there was no sign of impending dissolution; indeed the very ministers assailed by Elias had become the pillars of the cause.[48] Rev. David Saunders embarked on a similar theme in his Moderatorial address to the Assembly in Aberystwyth in 1878; he began by trouncing the habit of nostalgic praises of the past; no doubt, the fathers such as Howell Harris, Daniel Rowland, Howell Davies, William Williams, Thomas Charles, David Charles and John Elias were great men in a direct Apostolic succession, but some now made their praises of the fathers an excuse for belabouring their contemporaries; they erected tombs for the prophets but denigrated those upon whom their mantle had fallen, and, as John Jones, Tal-sarn, had said, they exhumed the bones of the dead to batter the living of whom they could say nothing good. The facts belied such tirades for the growth in the thirty years prior to 1878 had been greater than in any comparable period in the Connexion's history. Saunders quoted figures prepared by Henry Richard, the M.P. for Merthyr Tydvil, which had shown the great growth of non-conformity from 1850 to 1870. According to these figures Calvinistic Methodists had built 321 new chapels and had renovated 435 at a cost of £366,000; the Independents had built 118 new chapels and renovated 200 at a cost of £294,000; the Baptists had built 142 new chapels and renovated 99 at a cost of £163,000. Moreover, the Calvinistic Methodist increase in numbers was equally striking; in 1850 there had been 366 ministers and preachers and in 1877 there were 841; in 1850 there had been 56,678 members and in 1877 there were 112,471. Nor was the rate of increase slackening; in 1870 there had been an increase of 287 but in 1876 it had been 5,729, while in the whole period from 1870 to 1876 it had been 20,023. Chapels and preaching stations had increased from 848 in 1850 to 1,240 in 1870. The total income of the chapels had risen from £103,889 in 1870 to £167,205 in 1877. Saunders also felt that even more could have been achieved if there had been more spirit and life in the pulpit.[49] In 1878 the

48. 1/7/76, 4.

49. 1/6/78, 11.

number of ministers and preachers had increased to 872 of whom 307 were preachers.[50]

Another contributor thought that pictures of both past and present were somewhat idealised; old-time elders were often said to be men alert to every quirk among the people, every new fashion in dress, and every new type of haircut and deportment, but these were not the qualities that would make a good elder; what was needed was soundness in the head and grace in the heart; moreover, contemporary elders were often pictured as mastiffs eyeing each other from opposite corners of the Big Seat but in reality they were often puny curs.[51]

It was also clear that no idealisation could hide the fact that much remained to be done; large numbers of people were out of touch with the Church and there was a substantial leakage of members who went to England and were often lost to any church; Dr. Owen Thomas told the Association in Wrexham that he was much disturbed by the cases of destitution he came across in Liverpool;[52] he also told an Association in Caernarvon that the ineffective pastoral care of members could lead to losses to the Church of Rome or to the Church of England.[53] Rev. David Phillips of Swansea told the Llansamlet Association in 1878 that Sunday morning congregations in West Glamorgan were very scant.[54] *Y Goleuad* thought that the Connexion had become content with cultivating the ground already possessed while there was an urgent need to reach out to new ground.[55] Rev. John Owen, M.A., shocked the Pwllheli Association when he presented the report on the state of the Connexional life in Lleyn and Eifionydd in Caernarvonshire. He said that reports of finance and statistics could deceive them as to their real condition and lead to a dangerous error of diagnosis; they could be lulled to say, "Don't worry, no great illness has got hold of you beyond a little neglected chill; don't let your spirits sink; you will soon get better; you have a strong constitution and come of a healthy family"; such a diagnosis could completely overlook a man's own habits and the tuberculosis in the mother's family. Thus, the healthy-looking statistics and finances could overlook the worms which were sapping the life of the Connexion, and the poisonous atmosphere prevalent in many districts. Owen admitted it was possible to be too morose and, like Elijah, fail to see the thousands who had not bowed the knee

50. 8/6/78, 7. 51. 27/9/79, 11. 52. 22/6/78, 4.
53. 7/9/78, 10. 54. 17/8/78, 7. 55. 7/6/79, 8.

to Baal, but he said the symptoms in Wales were gloomy; in the area which he was examining he said there were 20,000 who never went with any regularity to any place of worship. He looked back to the 1859 Revival and recalled the popular meetings, the broken spirits, the earnestness, the fresh gifts of prayer, the signs of Church unity, and the centrality of religious topics in ordinary conversation but he said that times had changed until, apart from the Sunday evening service, there was no popular religious meeting; few attended the morning services, the prayer meetings or the church meetings. Moreover, behaviour during meetings was far from ideal; congregations would not concentrate on the lesson which was being read, nor adopt a devotional attitude during prayer nor attend to the sermon unless the preacher was of more than average ability. Hardness of spirit was more common than contriteness. In the days of Revival some farm workers and common labourers had a great gift for prayer but that gift had been lost and those who did lead in prayer showed levity rather than reverence. Moreover, congregations had lost the spirit of unity; many of them could agree on nothing and this was retarding the call of ministers to be settled pastors. Religious conversation had waned and one could travel from Portmadoc to Aberdaron and never hear a word about religion on the whole journey. Apart from some recent manifestations in Edeyrn spiritual religion was at a low ebb in the area. The decline was reflected in figures covering no greater span than from 1875 to 1878. There were 6,870 communicants and 15,353 hearers; the hearers were not always doers and it could be said that half of them by persisting in remaining hearers had in fact rejected the Saviour. Another 5,000 totally neglected the means of grace and 2,000 communicants did not go to Sunday school; only about 1,600 Calvinistic Methodists were definitely against the drink trade. The contributions of the Calvinistic Methodists in 1878 were £7,404, a decrease of £349 on 1875. Owen claimed to know that the amount spent on drink and tobacco was £23,000, and he said that while there were 67 chapels there were 131 public-houses. Trade and agriculture were at a low ebb but religion was lower still. Morals were also decadent; about 1,000 illegitimate children had been born in the last ten years. Some church officers had been seen drinking along with drunkards and it was time to make total abstinence obligatory for officers and members and also to suspend members for a specified time for specific sins.

This grim picture caused Owen Thomas to request that such reports should be considered and approved by the Monthly Meeting before they were presented to the Association; in its present form it was Owen's personal view and one member of the Monthly Meeting said that if it had been presented to the Monthly Meeting it would not have been approved; the Association also shouted down a speaker who said that Thomas wished to suppress the truth.[56] Nevertheless, Thomas himself took a dim enough view of contemporary society when he spoke at the Seiat at the same Association; he said that godlessness was spreading, not so much in thought as in attitude; God was regarded as one who had left the world to go like a machine, but the biblical view was that He was in direct control; he then said that the costly recession in trade and industry which was likely to cost farmers millions of pounds was a warning call to repentance, as were the numerous cases of drunkenness among the quarrymen.[57] One correspondent said that Owen's critics would have been better employed trying to remove the evils than doubting their existence.[58]

A similar picture of moral decadence was painted at an Association in Machynlleth a few months later. Rev. James Donne, an influential preacher who had been much influenced by Moody's campaign, said there were thousands of pagans in Wales and he was supported by an elder from Anglesey who said the Welsh tended to be concerned with everything beyond the seas but to leave undone the work that needed to be done in Wales. Owen, who was far from being silenced by the criticism of his report at Pwllheli, said that in the area of the Monthly Meeting of Lleyn and Eifionydd there were 23,000 hearers belonging to all denominations who would not become church members; 10,000 of these never attended a Sunday morning service and 13,000 of them did not go to a Sunday School.[59] Another speaker said there was a need of a completely new spirit in Wales if there was to be a new way of life; he said sexual immorality was rife and cases had come before the magistrates which were a shame to mention in a country accustomed to hearing the Gospel. Donne said there were many in the churches who ought to be out and many among the hearers who ought to be members. Rev. William James said that from his experience in Manchester the behaviour of the Welsh was no worse than that of others and he also warned against

56. 6/9/79, 10. 57. 6/9/79, 11. 58. 13/9/79, 13.
59. 29/11/79, 6.

the habit of thinking that sins were more common among the poor than among the rich: the rich could carry on their sins under a cloak of respectability. James gave an instance of manufacturers who mixed dust (llwch) with wool (lliain) to make it heavier cloth and then sent it to Wales where it was labelled Welsh tweed and then sent back to England as the real thing. Dr. Llugwy Owen also thought there was a danger of overdrawing the picture of Welsh immoralities; "A continued sensation is no sensation"; he added that to go on using strong condemnatory language would soon pall and they would be left shouting "Wolf, wolf!"[60]

The Christian Festivals were not universally observed in the Connexion. Many congregations used a day like Good Friday for eisteddfodau or for special preaching services. Moriah, Trawsfynydd, had and still has preaching services on Christmas day; a century ago there was often a galaxy of five or six preachers.[61] A similar festival was held at Cwm Ystwyth in Cardiganshire; in 1877 the preachers were Rev. John Evans, Abermeurig, and Rev. William Evans, Aberystwyth, and though there were eisteddfodau in the neighbouring districts of Capel Mynach (Devil's Bridge) and Capel Trisant the people of Cwm Ystwyth packed their own chapel throughout the day in spite of the cold weather. Over against this the chapels in Aberystwyth were all closed on that day since all the ministers were away preaching elsewhere; Thomas Levi was in Aberllefenni, Griffith Parry was in Llanddewi Brefi and William Evans in Cwm Ystwyth. In Aberystwyth a tea meeting was held in the English Baptist Church and an eisteddfod in the Temperance Hall.[62]

Whitsuntide was a special time for major preaching festivals, especially in the cities of London and Liverpool.[63] At the New Year the week of prayer recommended by the Evangelical Alliance became a recognised feature of Connexional life. There was the occasional complaint that watchnight services on New Year's eve were an imitation of Roman Catholic practice and led to instances of immorality and it was said that many young people who began the new year in sin had to pay dearly for it before the year's end.[64] Of course, in view of the frequent laments of widespread adultery and fornication it seems rather rash to pick out the New Year period as a season of special laxity.[65]

Sunday was the main festival of the Connexion and most of

60. 29/11/79, 4. 61. 5/1/78, 7. 62. 5/1/78, 11.
63. 30/5/74, 5. 64. 11/1/79, 7. 65. 29/11/79, 4 and 7.

the discussions about its observance made the assumption which had been propagated in the Puritan era that the Old Testament commands about the Sabbath had been transferred to the Christian Lord's Day or Sunday. However, the constant stress upon the observance of the day shows that it was not observed as many thought it should be. The use of chapels on Sunday for entertainments which it was feared would easily depart from a sacred purpose was a matter of concern. Sabbath journeys to rehearsals for singing festivals were not generally looked upon with favour.[66] There was also much discussion about even more serious threats to the special character of the day. *Y Goleuad* said there were many who wished to introduce a continental Sunday into Wales and it took *The Cambrian News* to task for having published a blasphemous (cableddus) article in which it had approved a recent sports meeting in Aberystwyth on a Sabbath; *Y Goleuad* said there was no essential antipathy between sport and religion and it was possible to go to extremes on the matter but in general those keenest on sport were of no help to religion; sportsmen were usually small in influence, low in character, and intellectually and morally feeble. The infiltration of various kinds of sport from England was, in the opinion of *Y Goleuad*, the blackest evil in the country apart from the drink trade which was "the Queen and Fountain of all evils"; moreover, sportsmen were often to be found in public-houses.[67] The Prince of Wales was commended for asking that Sunday engagements should not be arranged for him during his visit to India.[68] Disasters which took place on a Sunday were occasionally held up as examples of what befell those who desecrated the day. When five climbers set out from Capel Curig on the Sabbath to climb Snowdon one of them fell to his death and *Y Goleuad* asked when people would take warning from this dreadful consequence of desecrating the day.[69]

Then as now the application of principles and the limits of the permissible were thorny problems, as the correspondence in *Y Goleuad* revealed. A report had appeared in its columns of a journey in Snowdonia and this had, according to one correspondent, covered a Sabbath and raised an important issue of what was permissible on that day; he asked if a minister would have committed a sin if, after preaching at Llanberis or Beddgelert on a Sunday, he decided to climb Snowdon so as to be on the summit

66. 19/8/78, 6. 67. 25/9/75, 8. 68. 16/10/75, 4.
69. 1/2/79, 4.

to welcome the sunrise on Monday morning. Or, would a minister have committed a sin if, while preaching at Devil's Bridge, he had taken a walk between the morning and evening services to see the famous Falls?[70] The traveller to Snowdonia evaded the question by saying that in his case he had climbed Snowdon on a Friday and the hypothetical issue did not arise. Another writer said the hypothetical visit to the Falls would unquestionably be wrong since it would serve to justify the small proportion of all the visitors to the Falls who went there on a Sunday and who were clearly of a lower type than visited the Falls on other days.[71] A preacher wrote objecting to any concessions and said that excursions to Snowdon or to the Falls would lead to further breaches of the day and there would soon be reports of preachers asking for a glass of beer with their dinner and then the people would follow suit.[72] The elder who had raised the question then summed up the correspondence and said that the ensuing letters had shown the impossibility of a rigid legalistic application of the rule; he cited the case of the preacher at Blaenrheidol who had climbed Plynlimon after the 10 a.m. service and had returned just in time to step into the pulpit for the 3 p.m. service and was so rapt up by what he had seen that unwittingly he varied a famous Welsh hymn and announced: "Pen Plynlimon, nac aed hwnnw byth o'm cof." The elder said that no one dare condemn such an ascent which had so possessed the preacher by a vision of the might and beauty and scale of God's creation.[73]

The rapid growth of buildings in which the Calvinistic Methodists met for worship was a constant source of news and as the century moved on there was increasing elaboration in the structure and decoration of the chapels; the increasingly ornate features of the buildings became quite a source of worry to many. It was feared especially that as pulpits became more ornate less attention would be paid to the message proclaimed therein and there would be a temptation for ministers, in attempting to compensate for their decreasing stress on preaching, to begin to hear confessions and emulate other papal practices.[74]

The ornate designs were often pretentious rather than conducive to worship and the turrets and Gothic shaped windows were frequently out of harmony with other features of the buildings but occasionally the buildings were remarkably successful archi-

70. 9/10/75, 4. 72. 4/11/75, 4.
73. 13/11/75, 11. 74. 7/8/75, 4.

tectural achievements. The English Church at Castle Square, Caernarvon, is a notable element in the historic square and often features in Television programmes from the royal borough. Crescent Church in Newtown was also successful. In both these buildings the minute entrance porches are scarcely in keeping with the scale of the edifices and somewhat cramp the modest ceremonial associated with funerals, weddings and other rites in the Connexion. In other cases the pretentiousness left a legacy of maintenance far beyond the resources of the congregation and not a few spires as at Siloh in Aberystwyth, at Bethel Street, Llanidloes, and at the English Church in Machynlleth, have had to be taken down. *Y Goleuad* suggested that contractors should forfeit £50 if the building was found to be defective; if it was not waterproof the intrusion of water could and did make many buildings unhealthy and fostered a rot in the woodwork.[75] Moreover, it was often thought that elaborate frontages neither brought glory to God nor improved the usefulness of the buildings but rather were erected to advertise the prosperity of the members and to outdo a neighbouring building. Such a grandiose facade could also involve the congregation in a burden of debt which would not be cleared for many years and which would so impoverish the other necessities of the church that the fee given to preacher for a Sabbath's work would remain fifteen shillings.[76] In 1876 Rev. William Williams, in his retiring Moderatorial address to the General Assembly, said that the Connexion wasted not less than £10,000 yearly in paying interest on debts, but he thought that this burden could be cleared in an effort spread over four or five years; all that was needed was an average contribution of £2 from each member, though admittedly this was a heavy sum to ask from many of the poorer members, but once the burden was cleared more could be done for the ministry and for Foreign Missions.[77] In 1878 the outstanding Connexional debt was £228,013, an increase of £19,976 on the preceding year.[78]

Surprisingly enough, Owen Thomas defended the growing splendour; speaking at the laying of the foundation stone of a new chapel in Salford, he said that their fathers had met in barns and in chapels which looked like barns and this suited their age but

75. 26/2/76, 14. 76. 7/8/75, 4.
77. 1/7/76, 4: "Nid oeddym wedi gwneyd ein rhan i ledaenu yr Efengyl trwy wledydd paganaidd y byd." We have not done our part to spread the Gospel to the pagan countries of the world.
78. 8/6/78, 7.

there was now a need of fine chapels even for the poor. He told of one old lady who was asked if the new chapel in Princes Road, Liverpool, was not too grand for her and she replied that she liked to be a lady one day of the week. He said the poor no longer wanted to go to an inconvenient building and the Connexion had a duty to make the buildings sufficiently attractive to draw the people.[79] This confidence was not wholly shared in the Connexion; one elder told the Monthly Meeting in Bangor that the increasing grandeur of the buildings and the garb of the congregation were driving away many of the poor.[80] It is an interesting comparison to refer to the policy of the Forward Movement about thirty years later which was to build halls in which working-men could feel more at home than in ecclesiastical-looking buildings.

Whatever motives prompted the growing elaboration, the buildings did not evoke the sense of reverence associated with the old parish churches and the people's behaviour in chapels was much censured. The faults frequently catalogued were lack of punctuality and coarse irreverence. Services were said to be often held up until people arrived and this delay encouraged even later arrival; the only cure was a resolute decision to begin the services on time and ministers could take a firm line on this and also show punctuality and decorum themselves. It was stated that outsiders often showed more respect for the buildings than did the members. Rev. John Owen told of an Anglican landlord on whose land a chapel was being built and who himself removed his hat before entering it even when it was only in process of being built and also refused to allow his dog to follow him into the building. Rev. Daniel Rowlands said that the Arfon Monthly Meeting had already tried to give guidance in the matter and had urged ministers and deacons to set an example of punctuality in arrival. There were suggestions that the doors should be shut during the reading and the prayer so as to prevent interruptions by latecomers. Another report came from a chapel where the service began at 9 a.m. and was started promptly by the deacons if the minister who lived ten miles away did not turn up in time; on one occasion the expected minister turned up after two deacons had led in prayer and one of them said to him, "Come and pray to finish the meeting"; that minister was never late again. These remedies, however, were not widely applied and services did not begin in many cases until half an hour after the appointed time.

79. 30/11/78, 11. 80. 6/12/79, 6.

Rev. Griffith Hughes said that if Lord Penrhyn made an appointment to see a tenant that tenant would be at fault if he did not turn up at the appointed hour; it was surely more serious to fail to keep an appointment with God.[81] In the Montgomeryshire Monthly Meeting Rev. Roger Edwards had suggested that an unseemly rush from the building at the end of a service could be prevented if the announcements were held back until after the final hymn and then curiosity about forthcoming activities would constrain the people to remain in their seats. One correspondent pointed out that ministers who at Associations did not come into the preaching services until after the reading and prayer did not understand the burden imposed by long sermons upon those who had endured the service from the beginning.[82] One speaker told an Association in Aberporth that ministers and people regarded the early part of the services as something which had to be endured as a prelude to the sermon.[83] The conduct of the people in the chapels was severely condemned as an unpardonable irreverence because they knew how to behave when they had occasion to enter a parish church; in their own chapels, according to one correspondent, they had a barbarous habit of walking to their seats with outstretched necks (gyddfau estynedig) and wanton looks and then shuffling their feet for the first part of the service. The poorer members were said to be the worst offenders; there were indeed wealthy men who were no gentlemen and had little true nobility and who could be empty, affected and selfish, but they at least knew how to behave with manners and dignity towards their fellow-men; on the whole Calvinistic Methodism had failed to nurture this type of person. *Y Goleuad* said it was forced to concede that clergymen were usually gentlemen and knew how to behave in company and it feared that the crudeness of Calvinistic Methodist congregations was due to the lack of refinement and gentleness among preachers when they greeted each other in chapel-houses and even in chapels.[84]

The use to which chapels could be put was a matter of some concern. The general disapproval of any entertainment in a chapel on a Sunday has already been mentioned. There was less unanimity about what was fitting on other days. There were no ancestral memories around the chapels as there were around the old parish churches. Theologically, the Church was the people

81. 12/9/74, 12. 82. 12/9/74, 5. 83. 24/5/79, 6.
84. 19/9/74, 8.

of God and the building was its meeting place and in the eyes of many had no special significance when the Church was not assembled therein. Nevertheless there was a remarkable outburst of protest when reports appeared of a concert held in Moriah chapel, Caernarvon. The report in *Y Goleuad* said that a large choir had taken part and that the Big Seat had been occupied by an orchestra; Jones Parry, a local singer, occupied the pulpit along with a local publican who was something of a virtuoso on the violin and had imitated a host of farmyard animals such as mules, geese and chickens, and the variety of sounds was such that it was impossible for anyone to escape the conclusion that one of the greatest religious revivals had broken out and that the sounds signified a heavenly inspiration bearing witness to Him who said "My house is called a house of prayer."[85] This report drew the comment that so serious a matter should not have been treated in so sarcastic and frivolous a manner; the incident would force the Connexion to decide whether its costly buildings had been erected to be playhouses or temples for the worship of God, huts for feeding animals or places for the nourishment of souls, dens of thieves or houses of prayer. It was asserted that the concert in Moriah had been a profanation of Christianity and that therefore the officers of Moriah should be required to explain why they had permitted it to take place. The Association had recommended that chapels should be used for the proclamation of the Gospel and for instruction therein and the concert could not come within this category. Moreover, such an event could be the harbinger of even more serious corruptions such as frivolous jokes and applause; these could creep in under the patronage of worthy causes such as temperance and politics. The critic concluded his attack by saying that ministers and elders could not have a proper concern for morality and virtue if they condoned the mimicking of the braying of asses and the gobbling of geese in costly pulpits erected for the improvement of the morals of the ignorant, low and thoughtless masses.[86] In reply, the officers of Moriah said that the chapel had been lent to the North Wales Choral Union on the understanding that there would be nothing unfitting in the programme; the arrangements had been hurriedly made and the programme had not been thoroughly examined but the afternoon programme had been unexceptionable and the offending item in the evening had been given in response to a request from the

85. 30/5/74, 3. 86. 6/6/74, 3.

audience; Rev. J. Eiddon Jones, Llan-rug, who signed the reply on behalf of Moriah, regretted the occurrence and the consequent damage to the reputation of Moriah and of the Choral Union.[87]

This particular instance led to wider repercussions. One writer said that while the chapels were not consecrated buildings they were erected for religious purposes and the pulpit was regarded with an awe similar to that given by the Israelites to the Holy of Holies; it would be a cause of pain even to see a musician with his fiddle in the pulpit, and should he proceed to profane it by performing music inconsistent with the sacredness of the place it would be the abomination of desolation. As it was, the writer thought that there were far too many meetings of an unsuitable kind already taking place in chapels which were thus becoming general depots on the journey between Christ and Belial and he did not think they could be defended on the ground that they elevated the taste and refined the ideas of the young and that such occasions, even if not ideal, were preferable to idleness, frivolity and the taverns; he did not deny the value of cultural, literary and musical occasions but he did not think they ought to be held in chapels and certainly not on Sundays.[88] *Y Goleuad* summed up this controversy by saying that it was easy for frivolous features to percolate into the chapels under the cloak of worthy societies such as the Band of Hope or a Literary Society and then once in they became acceptable through usage, even on a Sunday; the elders had a duty to be on the alert for such trends and to take a stand against them.[89]

The form of the services in the chapels was not generally discussed. The pattern of praise, lesson, prayer, and sermon had become the acceptable and largely uncriticised pattern, as indeed it still remains. Not until the end of the century and even then only in some English-speaking chapels was there any significant concern for greater seemliness in the form and content of the services. There were always plenty of people ready to oppose any fresh approach on such matters and even if it was only furious extremists who rushed into print with protests their rage was enough to make preachers and ministers walk warily and there would have been a smouldering resentment if changes had been attempted. One writer sent a slashing attack on any who read their prayers; he said that the Old Testament contained fine prayers but there was no record that they had been used by the worthies

87. 13/6/74, 3. 88. 26/9/74, 7. 89. 26/9/74, 8.

of the New Testament; Thomas Charles in his *Y Geiriadur Ysgrythurol* had correctly defined prayer as a "pouring out of the desires of our heart before God," and St. Paul could not have said that he did not know how to pray as he ought if he had had written prayers before him. This writer then made the sweeping statement that as a child he had prayed the Lord's Prayer but once he had been awakened he never used another man's prayers since formalism dissolved the spirit, and to read prayers prepared by others was a formalism which had no relation to the desires of the heart.[90]

In the eighteen and seventies the only rumble of discord arose over the introduction of musical instruments into chapels and it was commonly remarked that while singing was enjoined in Scripture there was no order to use instruments.[91] This was asserted in spite of the exhortations in Psalm CL. Rev. William Williams, in his valedictory address from the Moderator's chair in the General Assembly of 1876, pled for caution in the introduction of musical instruments lest the outward form of religion overshadowed the inward spirit.[92] It is ironic that before many decades had passed chapels were competing in a race to possess the largest organ in their town or district and in areas such as the Rhondda there is now a legacy of organs almost impossible to maintain in the changed circumstances of the twentieth century.

It is difficult to generalise about the quality of congregational singing in the period. One report said that during the singing there were some who stood like lifeless poles with hands in pockets and with a glazed look in the eyes; it was felt that the lusty singing in the public houses could be a corrupting influence and therefore its levity was to be avoided but on the other hand the singing of Moses, David, Paul, Luther and Williams Pantycelyn had had a great influence for good and so could good congregational singing.[93] A visitor to Aberystwyth said he had gone there expecting to hear singing which would excel the singing in Aberdare which in his view was the norm but he was disappointed by what he heard; to begin with, there was a scarcity of hymnbooks which was no credit to Aberystwyth where there were people with ample resources to provide sufficient copies so that even the poor might have a copy before them; the practice of reading two lines and

90. 1/8/74, 3. 91. 30/10/75, 4. 92. 1/7/76, 4.
93. 18/10/79, 12.

then singing them and so on with every two lines made any real improvement of the singing impossible.[94]

Two contributions to help and raise the standard were noted. There was the work of Ieuan Gwyllt who by publishing a tune book and by his practical work in conducting singing festivals had brought the need for improvement before the public. There was also the development of the office of Precentor (Codwr Canu) who led the singing from the Big Seat; this, according to *Y Goleuad*, was a great advance in performance over the previous fifty years though there were rumours of a current recession.[95] These steps did not take place without interruption. One observer paid tribute to Ieuan Gwyllt's power to control a singing festival and make it a vital means of instruction but not all who attempted to conduct such festivals had his gift and sometimes these occasions sank into disorder and irreverence; there was still much room for a realisation of the power of music as it had been grasped by the Roman Catholics and the ritualists.[96] Moreover, many failed to see that the standard of singing expected at these festivals was meant to be translated into the weekly worship of the congregation.[97] Another complaint was that standards had fallen in some areas because every person with a voice thought himself qualified to lead the singing even if he had no training or qualifications, while in some places the singing was just regarded as an interlude to give the preacher a rest and an opportunity to regain his wind. A preference was expressed by one writer for a precentor with a tenor voice which could give a clear lead and also blend in with women's voices better than the voice of a deep bass who got the inflated idea that there were no singers like himself; this writer also said there was need to use a wider variety of tunes and not repeat the same tunes on the same Sunday or in the same service; he also expressed disappointment that anthems were so rarely sung.[98] At an Association in Brecon in 1878 one elder accused his fellow-elders of not showing interest in the quality of congregational singing and when he added this indifference to the failure of older people to encourage the young to take an interest in the singing he did not feel optimistic about the future.[99] *Y Goleuad* thought that the local variations in methods of announcing hymns led to confusion and irreverence and upset visiting preachers; in some places the whole hymn was read before it was sung; in

94. 11/7/74, 3. 95. 26/12/74, 9. 96. 15/5/79, 12.
97. 19/1/78, 10. 98. 26/1/78, 10. 99. 19/8/78, 6.

others, each verse was read before it was sung, and there were backward places where each two lines were read and sung.[100] It may be recalled that Aberystwyth was among these retrograde centres.

It will by now be evident that *Y Goleuad* presented no idyllic picture of the Connexion but rather revealed the deep heart-searchings and discontent of many concerning the soundness of its organisation and the zeal of its members; these weaknesses were disturbing obstacles in the way to the fulfilment of the many tasks which the Connexion ought to have been undertaking in Wales.

100. 9/11/78, 8.

Chapter III.

THE PREPARATION FOR THE MINISTRY

In the early years of the Methodist movement the members of the Societies still attended the parish churches for baptism and communion but as the movement spread and gained a more distinct identity fewer clergy showed sympathy with the aims of the movement. The work of preaching and pastoral care therefore fell more and more into the hands of the unordained exhorters who were the natural leaders of the movement. However, as members of the Societies became more dissatisfied with the ministry of the clergy of the Church of England, they also were far from satisfied with the partial ministry of the exhorters; this unrest virtually forced the hand of the leaders and led to the first ordinations within the Connexion in 1811. In the following decades a policy of consolidation had to be undertaken and a national coverage of preachers provided. Not all preachers were ordained and so there developed the pattern whereby there were many preachers who carried on a business as well as preaching; these were not ordained. There were also ministers who were ordained and many of these carried on an itinerant ministry but there was also the need for a settled system of pastors. Lewis Edwards did a herculean work in advocating and laying the foundations of such a system. He also saw that if ministers were to settle down and preach fairly regularly to a congregation they would need some education so as to enable them to present their message effectively and to give adequate clarity and content to their sermons. This was all the more necessary in view of the rising standard of education among the people.

The elders had an influential place in the life of a church and it was they who often spotted and encouraged young men likely to be able to become ministers. After they had spotted a likely young man who was taking an interest in the Sunday school, in the Society, and in the work of preaching, it was the customary procedure to ask him to preach in the chapel and then he would be invited to preach in neighbouring chapels in the area of the Monthly Meeting; he would also be heard by some ministers and elders of the Monthly Meeting and in due course he would be accepted as a preacher; he might remain in this status for life, preaching in his own area or even further afield if his fame and acceptability should be noised abroad. However, the Monthly

Meeting might recommend him for training for the ministry and he would be enabled to go to Bala or Trevecka where he would pursue various courses and he might or might not pass the college examinations therein. The vital examination, however, was the examination in Scripture and Theology which was conducted by the Association. The examiners who were appointed by the Association reported their findings to the Association which then decided whether or not to declare the candidate ready to receive a call and to be ordained; the Association was not bound to decide on the basis of the examination result: other factors could be taken into account.

When *Y Goleuad* was launched the Connexion was in a period of heart-searching as to the effectiveness of its methods of producing an adequate ministry.

There was evidence of weakness at the chapel level. The quality of the elders was often alleged to leave much to be desired. *Y Goleuad* said men were being raised to office in chapels for no other reason than their family connection, and some, though liberal in politics, became virtual autocrats in their control of the affairs of their chapel.[1] Such men were not likely to discern the qualities befitting a minister and so they often recommended quite unsuitable candidates. There was no lack of correspondence to point out the weakness of many aspirants to the pulpit and to accuse congregations and factions therein of pushing their favourites whose aim was often little more than to gain an easy living and who in practice had to depend on other men's sermons.[2] One writer said that if the Holy Spirit called men to the ministry he was also at work in congregations and they had a duty to test the fitness of candidates; if people were responsive to the Spirit's leading he would not lead them to recommend men who borrowed and patched up other people's sermons, but this offence of borrowing sermons was one source of complaint against fully-fledged ministers.[3] There was one intrepid candidate who wrote to challenge the general assumption that the borrowing of a sermon was proof of the absence of the Spirit or of the borrower's incapacity to make a sermon of his own.[4] Another correspondent denied that the practice was widespread or that candidates were recommended without having been tested as preachers in several chapels within the area of the Monthly Meeting; he said that such anonymous

1. 20/9/73, 3. 2. 25/10/73, 3. 3. 1/11/73, 4; 8/11/73, 3. See p. 79.
4. 15/11/73, 2.

generalisations ought not to be made without the detailed evidence of particular cases to support them.[5] Still another correspondent wrote to admit that there were weak candidates but he held that the Connexion was only reaping the consequences of its own penurious support of the ministry; when young men saw the conditions under which men had worked in the ministry the ablest of them would not be drawn into the ministry. However, *Y Goleuad* thought there should be no hasty reaction into a harsh system of judging aspirants since an initial ineffectiveness had often been known to give way to great effectiveness in preaching. It was important to recognise and encourage and develop gifted young men and also to enable them to look forward to a maintenance that would not be less than that given to miners.[6]

Y Goleuad returned to the topic three years later and said that while there was a plentiful supply of future preachers of the necessary calibre there were others who should not have been encouraged to enter the pulpit since they had no gifts for speaking in public nor had they any stores of knowledge or of mental culture; congregations were to blame for raising false hopes, and Monthly Meetings were quite unjustified in saying that weak congregations would need ministers and therefore weaker brethren could be of use in such congregations, and it was also cynical to say that if they were hopeless they would not get invited to preach and therefore no harm would be done; in fact, such men often proved to be importunate and not unsuccessful hunters for publications and they would not have had the opportunity to hunt if the Monthly Meeting had done its duty.[7]

It was a common opinion that to allow weak men to enter the pulpit would repel able young men from offering themselves for the ministry and that the prospects were already such as not to encourage parents to commend the ministry to their sons. On the other hand, at the Association in Pontrhydfendigaid there was a speaker who must have been in a mood of sarcastic sourness when he recorded his satisfaction that there were fewer candidates coming forward from Cardiganshire. One speaker said that fewer sons of the wealthier members of the Connexion were candidates but he did not regard this as calamitous since the richer people were not necessarily richer in mental power.[8] Nevertheless complaisant as some of these remarks must have sounded, there

5. 15/11/73, 3; cf. 5/12/74, 6. 6. 7/3/74, 8. 7. 10/3/77, 9.
8. 5/9/74, 8; cf. 19/9/74, 6.

was a persistent concern about the quality of recruits and the blame was laid, not upon them, but upon the congregations who were not sufficiently concerned about the depth of the religion of those whom they commended and who had little to impart to others apart from ideas culled from books.[9] The methods of finding out what a congregation thought about a candidate were sometimes criticised; one writer described a hypothetical case where out of a congregation of four hundred and fifty members only one hundred and eighty-eight turned up to vote and if the candidate secured one hundred and twenty-six votes he would be commended for recognition as a preacher, but it might well be that the absentees were unfavourable to him but did not like to attend and show their disapproval and thus in fact the favourable vote might not represent the true mind of the congregation. This correspondent also said that the membership included young members between fourteen and eighteen years of age who were scarcely capable of making a mature judgement; he also pointed out that women also voted though he said he had to admit that their judgement was as good, if not better, than that of some men. Taking the measure of the whole range of voters he was not surprised that two-inch men were being recruited.[10] It was pointed out at once that absence was no necessary proof of hostility but rather indicated that the absentees did not care one way or the other.[11]

Not only were there doubts about the methods of selection but there were also differences as to the qualities desirable in a candidate. One writer in a sarcastic article said that in an hour of celestial conversation in a chapel-house there had been general agreement that no aspirant should be under fifty; his prayers should not be short, nor should he read anything but a Connexional periodical and certainly not an English newspaper; he should not be ready to tolerate any freedom of opinion or action nor should he speak charitably of any who disagreed with him.[12] This attitude was probably set forth in reaction from the tendency to encourage a virtual prelacy among some popular preachers but it also had and has a counterpart in the pressures put upon ministers to conform to the ethos of the Connexion or to attitudes common in certain localities.

It was admitted that many candidates had small gifts which when adorned with a certain fluency in Welsh in their own home district might win approval in the congregation but they found

9. 1/3/79, 4. 10. 22/3/79, 11. 11. 29/3/79, 11. 12. 4/11/75, 4.

themselves quite unfitted for the labour of study when they went to Bala or Trevecka. A weak student could be driven to despair when he found himself faced by English text-books and he would shed rivers of sweat as he was asked to speak in English before his merciless fellow-students; many a night his aching head would be near splitting as he tried to master some exercise in grammar. Study became a painful struggle and on top of that there would be the frequent week-end journey to preach in some chapel where he would be subject to the elders' criticisms and to the indifference of somnolent congregations during the afternoon service; when the evening service came round he was so dishevelled in mind and body that he would forget his best sermon. This exhausting week-end pilgrimage would take up almost three days in each week and in the remaining four days he had to face the details of Latin and Greek, the precisions of Logic, the depths of Philosophy, and the problems of Theology.

The hardships endured by college students were often commented upon. One elder said the students from Pembrokeshire, Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire who went to Trevecka often had no means of supplementing their meagre resources by preaching; they were unknown in the area around Breconshire and so for two, three or even four successive Sundays they had no publications, while students from that area were away preaching every Sunday.[13] A visitor to Trevecka reported his impressions of what he found at college; it was in an ideal situation but students could not live on scenery and their emaciated bodies bore witness to the hardness of their lot. He doubted if their bodies would survive long enough to enable them to enter the ministry. He said that the Chapel at the College was fine but the rest of the buildings were a danger to the health of the students. Moreover, beautiful as was the situation its isolation made it impossible for students from distant counties to return home to fulfil their publications and he felt that there ought to be larger grants for the payment of lodgings and books; at Trevecka the maximum grant was £5 whereas at Bala it was £7 which could be much augmented by scholarships.[14]

However, the lack of Sunday appointments was, in the opinion of many observers, a considerable advantage. To keep a publication a man had to be away for the most part of three days and could also be tired out on a Tuesday and so had only three days

13. 25/5/78, 12.

14. 15/2/79, 4.

for steady study. Other students who were not away for the weekend had six days for study. It was also pointed out that there were some students at the colleges who were not preparing for the ministry and so had not to be away to preach and so were able to concentrate on their studies and secure the £20 and £10 prizes which had primarily been intended for those aspiring to the ministry.[15] Dr. R. D. Roberts said that weekend absences from college on preaching engagements were "a serious evil."[16]

The effectiveness of the college course was sometimes questioned. The number of those who denied the need for any course of education was decreasing. A speaker at the Holyhead Association in 1879 said there were men of great natural talents who were the exception to any rule but for men of average talents the lack of education was a serious drawback; the Connexion therefore was much indebted to Lewis Edwards and David Charles for their pioneer work in the founding of Bala and Trevecka. The Moderator, Rev. Emrys Evans, said the Connexion had between thirty-five and forty graduates in the ministry as well as others who, though not graduates, were men of great learning; he said that no one could deny that the two colleges produced great men.[17]

However, not all the products of the colleges attained even moderate standards. *Y Goleuad* said it was pitiable that after four years of college education some students could not speak Welsh with moderate accuracy but distorted it into some local dialect; every preacher ought to be able to have a mastery of the language equal to that of any member of the congregations to whom he preached.[18] Three years later *Y Goleuad* reverted to the topic and thought that the source of weakness was the low standards required for admission to the ministry; this brought the ministry into disrespect and deterred the abler men. This, said the paper, was not so serious a matter in the Church of England where the efficacy of the Sacraments and the privileges of the Establishment were the central concerns but in the Calvinistic Methodism the power of the pulpit was its lifeblood and if that power disappeared the days of the Connexion would be numbered.[19]

Many candidates for the ministry had a very scant knowledge of English and of other vital Arts subjects such as Greek and so

15. 20/9/79, 11. 16. 26/10/78, 4. See p. 158.
17. 12/4/79, 7; cf. 13/9/79, 13.
18. 15/7/76, 4. 19. 1/3/79, 4.

the staff at Bala and Trevecka had to spend much time in giving them the minimum necessary in these subjects before they could start to study the main branches of theology. The burden on the staffs of the eight non-conformist colleges in Wales was often said to be detrimental to the real purpose of a theological college. In a somewhat underestimated figure, one writer said that none of these colleges had more than twenty-five students, all at varying stages of development, and it was an impossible task for a staff which rarely numbered more than two to cope with the needs of all the students. This naturally led to a great interest in the new University College at Aberystwyth and there were many voices raised urging that as many ministerial students as possible should be sent to Aberystwyth for three or four years. Among the early fruits of this advocacy was the appearance of the names of future ministers in the Aberystwyth prize-lists; for example, in 1875 prizes were gained by T. F. Roberts and William Hobley who both became notable Calvinistic Methodist ministers; another prizeman in the same year was T. E. Ellis, the future Liberal politician. *Y Goleuad* stressed that languages, Logic and Philosophy could be pursued at Aberystwyth and so relieve the impossible burdens placed upon the staff of the theological colleges; at Bala three had to teach thirty-seven students and at Trevecka two taught thirty-two. The Principal at Aberystwyth, Thomas Charles Edwards, had recently approached all the theological colleges pointing out the advantages to be gained from sending students to Aberystwyth including a contact with students of different denominations and from different parts of Wales.[20]

However, it still remained true and has remained true that there have been many worthy candidates who for various reasons could not qualify for University entrance. To provide for such men there was much discussion about a proposal to appoint a third professor at Trevecka to bring it up to Bala standards. The difficulty about this proposal was the provision of a salary for a third member of staff out of the college income of £1,000 and many were of opinion that if there was money to spare it should be used to augment the meagre student grants. One suggestion was to offer a third professor £120 yearly and let him make this up by Sunday engagements but this was rejected on the ground that it would be invidious to offer a new member of staff less than the others and also that the dependence on Sunday engagements would

20. 26/2/76, 9; 5/4/79, 8. See p. 158.

place the heavy strain of weekend travelling on the top of the weekly schedule of lecturing. It was agreed that the minimum rate of professorial pay should be £250 to the Principal and £225 to the other professors.[21] When the matter was raised at an Association in Llandovery it was referred to the Monthly Meetings for their views.[22] *Y Goleuad* admitted the force of the argument for higher grants to students; the grant had risen from £5 to £6 and it should rise to £8. *Y Goleuad* calculated that this would leave £60 for a third professor and if ninety people gave £1 each this would mean that £150 could be offered to a new professor.[23] At an Association in St. Davids the matter was considered again and the reaction of Pembroke was taken as typical; the Welsh area had voted against the idea of a third professor while the English area had voted in favour. Cynddylan Jones said that while he thought there was need for a third professor the divided voice of Pembroke probably represented the feeling of the Connexion; the Association agreed with the suggestion that no action be taken.[24]

The Association examination was an important part of the Connexional structure. This was an examination conducted by examiners appointed by the Association; it covered the fields of scripture and theology, and success therein was more important than passing college exams; it was the normal gateway to ordination, though the Association could take other factors into account in making a decision about the candidates' readiness for ordination. The examinations had fallen into some disrepute and there were complaints about the different standards set by different examiners, about the different standards required in the North and South, and about the treatment accorded to those who answered in Welsh and those who answered in English. *Y Goleuad* thought that the way in which examiners conducted the examination left much to be desired; some of them had other appointments and paid more or less fleeting visits to Bala and Trevecka and conducted the examination in a cavalier fashion. Moreover, the fee paid to the divinity examiners was twice that paid to the examiners in the classics though the classics examination involved twice as much work. Some examiners encouraged the candidates' powers of memorising and did not test their powers of reason. *Y Goleuad* supported the plan to appoint a Board of Examiners; the members would be appointed for three years but some would retire annually

21. 26/7/79, 11. 22. 16/8/79, 11. 23. 11/10/79, 9.
24. 1/11/79, 6.

and so there would be both change and continuity.[25] Others thought the course ought to be more precisely prescribed and the papers set in accord with normal educational practice; papers were too often such that they could not possibly be answered in three hours.

It was also customary to require aspiring preachers to sit the examination even if they did not intend to proceed to college or to ordination. There were some queries as to whether they ought to be asked to sit for the examination; one speaker at an Association in Bangor said it was a heavy imposition on such men and if it were no longer required there might be more men ready to come forward particularly in the border areas where preachers were much needed and he was sure that the Holy Spirit could use men whose strong point was not in the examination room, but another speaker retorted that there was a class of men who wanted easy access to the pulpit and who had plenty of impudence to take to the country to exhibit themselves.[26] The general opinion of the Connexion was that while the standard of entry and attainment at Bala and Trevecka was regrettaby low and while some brazen aspirants to be preachers were not so qualified as they thought themselves to be it would not be right to make the way harder for weaker candidates; the important thing was to encourage the men of greater ability to go to the universities where they would find their proper level.[27]

There was also much dissatisfaction with the method of announcing the results which, according to many, was not a fair verdict on the students. For example, the range of marks covered by Class II was so wide that those at the bottom were a world away from those at the top, and those at the top were often only fractionally short of Class I. Some favoured a pass list arranged in order of merit with no class distinctions.[28] Others suggested a list in alphabetical order; this, it was claimed, would avoid any suggestion that the Holy Spirit's verdict was in any way related to academic success. A refinement of this was the idea that there should be two examinations, one a pass examination in which the pass list would be in alphabetical order, and an optional examination with higher standards and in which classes would be allocated; this would give scope to the abler student without exposing the weaker.[29]

The examination was criticised for two other reasons. First, it became the overriding concern of many students to pass this

25. 4/7/74, 8. 26. 15/9/77, 4. 27. 15/11/79, 11.
28. 27/11/75, 5. 29. 4/12/75, 8.

examination and some of them even went home from college to prepare for it and so lost the benefit of their college course. Second, it was a misleading examination since those most surely called by God were so often involved in preaching that they had no time to prepare for the examination in which their results gave a misleading picture of their real capacity and were often erroneously taken to indicate a lack of fitness for the ministry.[30] One writer went so far as to call the examination a farce since some able students did just the minimum of work to enable them to pass while the weaker students worked much harder and got results which seemed to indicate superior ability.[31] An Association in Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant in 1878 had a discussion of this issue; some said that a higher standard would disqualify many who had a definite call to the ministry; some spoke of the stigma which they held was imposed upon those placed in the lower classes in the results; some denied the value of the class system of results in assessing fitness for the ministry. However, the weighty influence of Owen Thomas was exerted in defence of the incentive to gain a first class result, and he was supported by Dr. John Hughes who thought that no change should be made until it was seen if it were possible to have one examination for the whole Connexion and also to relate the syllabus for the examination more closely to the college course.[32]

Y Goleuad said that the decisions of the Monthly Meetings about the recognition of preachers were often made without attaching any weight to the results of the examination and this did not encourage examiners to take their work seriously and the examination had been much devalued. It was imperative that ministers should have a high standard of knowledge and the Connexion had need to raise its standards because mercy had degenerated into a softness that threatened the health of the Connexion; it was no mercy to allow candidates to proceed to the ministry if they were unsuited to the task.[33] There were men of weight such as Rev. William Morris of Rhuddlan who though they had not had the opportunity of education themselves did much to encourage young candidates to take every advantage of the opportunities which were available and so to improve their minds.[34]

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30. 18/12/75, 4. 31. 11/3/76, 4; 4/5/78, 4. 32. 27/4/78, 5.
33. 1/3/79, 4. 34. 8/2/79, 8.

The effectiveness of the examination was further complicated by the inability of some students to answer in Welsh. The papers were printed in Welsh and the English-speaking candidates were given a handwritten translation which a speaker at an Association in Wrexham in 1878 claimed made an examination more difficult since the writing was often hard to decipher; a rustic boy had failed because of this disadvantage. One examiner retorted that anyone who could read at all could have read the handwritten paper and he said that the candidate in question could not have passed in either English or Welsh with papers printed or written. Owen Thomas said that such men as Henry Rees and Lewis Edwards had sat the examination at a time when the papers were read out and students took down the questions. Lewis Edwards successfully moved that the Association pass from the question.[35]

Nevertheless, in spite of all the criticism of the quality of the candidates for the ministry and of the adequacy of their training there was a high regard for the ministry which was looked upon not simply as a profession but as a high calling to a divine service. This was illustrated in a letter in *Y Goleuad* from an old deacon to his nephew who was contemplating entering the ministry; he should be mindful of the dignity of the office and of the divine honour; he should attend the Monthly Meeting with regularity and keep abreast of its activities and should regard the opening worship at all meetings as something to be treated with respect and not relegated to insignificance; he should always be scrupulous in keeping promises to conduct services and should not give ground for the accusation that preachers were ready to break a promise if a more attractive offer came along; when away on a preaching engagement he should arrive in good time on Saturday night and so avoid giving his hosts the trouble of preparing a separate meal and he should so behave himself with cheerfulness and not with levity that he would be welcome on a further visit; if he travelled by horse he should show appreciation of the provision made for his animal; he should not sit up late on Sunday night because the household, including the servant girl, would have to be up early for Monday morning's work; he should take part in family worship and should be an early riser; it was disrespectful not only to the household but also to God if, as he had known to occur on one occasion, a farmer's daughter had to call the preacher eleven times on the Sunday morning before he came down for breakfast. He

35. 22/6/78, 5.

also advised his nephew to be diligent in supporting his home church and show respect to older ministers and elders who had been on the field before he was born. It would also be improper to complain about whatever fee was given to him; complaints gave the impression that the preachers were mainly concerned with themselves.[36]

This advice shows many aspects of life in the period; there was the Saturday travel, sometimes on horseback; there were the weekend sojourns on the farms where servant girls were hired for the housework and general duties. There was also the respect and welcome given to the students who, in spite of all the hardships of their lot, were subject to the temptations of self-importance and laziness which are the endemic professional hazards of the ministry in every age.

36. 14/2/74, 3.

Chapter IV.

MINISTERS AND PREACHERS

After the years of probation the Preachers were eventually received as full members of a Monthly Meeting; those who wished to become ordained Ministers were recommended for ordination after they had passed the Association examination or even upon a decision by the Association itself that they were fit to be ordained. Whether as Preachers or as Ministers they had a hazardous and varied prospect before them. Some of them inherited property or married into property and settled down on their wife's land which they farmed while at the same time preaching regularly in the district or ministering as a pastor of a local congregation. In the early decades of the nineteenth century John Peters of Bala settled on his wife's land at Trawsfynydd and became a noted preacher in the district and at many Associations.[1] Later in the century there was the minister at Rhuddlan, Rev. William Morris, whose responsibilities on his large farm prevented him from travelling far afield to preach; it was only when his son reached the age of twenty and took over the management of the farm that he was able to become more widely known.[2] One legacy of this custom was that many congregations never had a Manse of their own. Other ministers would go to the towns where congregations were more able to provide a Manse and where a more continuous pastoral ministry was possible. Others were specially gifted as preachers and were in great demand throughout the Principality and so had a largely peripatetic ministry; their wives often contributed to the family support by running a shop or other business. Even where ministers were settled in a pastorate it was not customary for them to be in their own chapels every Sunday. This itinerant system of preaching had merits and demerits which were much debated with both seriousness and sarcasm. One writer spoke of the Calvinistic preaching as the finest in Wales and attributed this to the fact that ministers had not to produce more than twelve sermons a year and then polish and repolish them as they moved from pulpit to pulpit; little wonder that these were sermons of quality compared with those of Independent ministers who were tied to their own chapels and so had to produce up to a hundred sermons a year which would of necessity be of a patchy and inferior quality; compared with these, how could Calvinistic

1. Jenkins, D. E., *Biographical Dictionary*. 2. 8/2/79, 8.

Methodist sermons be other than great! Moreover, Calvinistic Methodist congregations, having been nurtured on this diet, required finer fare; changing the metaphor, the writer said that the wild roses of inferior sermons could not grow in the finely cultivated gardens of Calvinistic Methodism. Continuing in this sercastic vein, the writer said that the Calvinistic Methodists, having outdone all others in the quality of their sermons, went even one better and outdid all others in the meagreness of their financial acknowledgement of the ministers' work.[3] Of course, a young man fresh from training was often at a disadvantage for he would not at first be well-known and so would have to remain in his own pulpit for perhaps twenty Sundays in the year and so have to produce forty sermons and then would be adversely criticised and compared with the notabilities who had only to prepare twelve sermons a year and would then dazzle the congregations they visited by their preaching power.[4]

There thus developed the cult of the popular preacher and in their day these preachers occupied the place in public esteem which is now given to popular heroes who are somewhat incredibly reported to be singers. However, not even for the giants can life have been one of great comfort. *Y Goleuad* printed reports of hardships endured on preaching visits which even if they verged on being lurid caricatures contained enough truth to awaken the conscience of many to the difficulties encountered in many chapel-houses. One highly entertaining report told of a visit where, after the Sunday evening service was over, many of the congregation gathered into the chapel-house and kept lauding the day's services until about eleven o'clock; from nine o'clock onwards one after the other would rise to go each expressing the hope that the the preacher would soon return; by eleven only one patriarch would remain and he would put his hand in his pocket as if he was about to commit some evil deed and he would look as a guilty man until his deed was done; his right hand seemed to be counting coins in his pocket because he could not trust his left hand to count correctly in the dark and then having completed his count he would draw out his hand, slip the coins into his left hand then shake the minister by the right hand and then with both hands after which the minister would feel something in his hand but since it was not etiquette for a Calvinistic Methodist minister to look at his wages in the presence of his employer he had to wait

3. 29/11/73, 5.

4. Ibid.

until he got into his room before he counted what turned out to be the eighteen shillings in his hand; this was what he had to take home to sustain his wife and seven children. According to this writer, the fee could be as low as ten shillings but if it were possible to attain the heights possible in Calvinistic Methodism it could be as much as £1 with the train fare in addition; this pound was intended to support a family, to buy respectable black clothes, to pay for *Y Goleuad* and the Connexional journals, to pay for *The Daily News* so as not to be ignorant of the affairs of the world, to buy expensive books since it would not do for the minister to be behind in knowledge of the thought of the age, to pay the rent and to buy coal which cost over £1 a ton; even £1 with the train fare was dishonest treatment and the Connexion could not hope to survive on dishonesty, and there were church officers who thought they were exceeding the limits of generosity if they raised their customary fee by three or five shillings. Nor, in the view of this writer, was it just a matter of payment; the conditions in chapel-houses were often deplorable; there was the burden of boring gossip (clec-hela) and the interrogations of ignorant cobblers who stitched together their fictitious reasoning as if they were stitching shoes; in such cases the minister should lift his foot and wave it in the air and point to it to remind the interrogator of his proper calling. Moreover, the chapel-house family was often more notable for its number than for its intelligence and they regarded the minister as a block provided for them to jump upon with all boldness; the mother was often more adept in asking questions than in cooking food which when it was produced was often indistinguishable from the slippers the minister had brought with him and it would have made no difference if the meat had been put on the floor and slippers on the plate. It would, said the writer, have been better if the Connexional diaries had included recipes for cooking than the lists of Welsh fair-days. This, incidentally, is a reminder that ministers often visited fairs for open-air preaching or to hold services in chapels for the benefit of the large numbers who attended fairs. Moreover, there was also the complaint that the bedclothes in chapel-houses were often damp and scant and ministers had to wrap themselves in their overcoats to keep warmth in and damp out; in spite of this, several ministers were said to have had their health permanently impaired by such visits.[5] *Y Goleuad* thought there was sufficient substance

5. 29/11/73, 5.

in the complaints to warrant an appeal for better treatment of ministers when they were away from home; they ought to be welcomed to a family circle and not be left to the discomforts of a chapel-house, and they in turn should show a spirit of appreciation and thankfulness.[6] However, the complaints did not go unchallenged and one writer said that the critic had revealed a reprehensible snobbishness when he disdained the idea of talking to a cobbler and when he advertised the fact that he carried slippers with him; this, allied with the resentment of uncomfortable conditions, was not worthy of a minister; Apostles and reformers had endured hardships but this was not to their discredit; a minister would get the respect he deserved, and, in any case, one bad experience could not be made a basis for judging the whole.[7] Further, when one minister complained about ministerial poverty, this could not be taken as proof of a general destitution because there were ministers and their families who had no sense of management and would always be in difficulties even if their salary was doubled. An anonymous letter purporting to be by a minister was circulated among the churches in Glamorgan and it gave an account of his activities; he said he had given thirty-five years arduous service in Glamorgan, had preached one hundred and seventy-six times yearly, lectured on twenty-two occasions, conducted nine Sunday school services, attended nine Monthly Meetings, preached on four special occasions and attended two Associations, and in all had travelled 4,175 miles during the year and for which he was paid £102 4s. 6d. out of which he had to pay £16 1s. 3d. on travelling expenses; on the residue he had to maintain five children as well as contributing to the funds of the church where he and his family were members, and also to two missions and to the building funds of several chapels. The reaction to this letter was very mixed; one writer said it was a barefaced and concocted untruth since no minister was such a paragon of industry and generosity;[8] another said it was not unrepresentative of the life of many ministers in Glamorgan;[9] another said that whatever truth there was in the account the fact that it was written under the guise of anonymity showed that the aim was simply to get more money.[10] However, it is possible that the critical reactions were not simply due to a distaste for anonymity but to a stirring of conscience which could only be eased by more generosity on

6. 8/9/77, 8. 7. 6/12/73, 4; 16/8/79 8. 7/3/74, 3.
9. 21/3/74, 3. 10. 4/4/74, 3-4.

the part of the people. At the elders' meeting at an Association in Bangor there was a frank recognition that the amount spent on buildings showed that there was money in the Connexion and that ministers were not getting a fair payment and thus were often humiliated by the miserly attitude of many towards them, and it was no credit to a congregation to see their minister wearing threadbare clothes. One elder from Manchester said that the average payment given to ministers was £1 weekly but in the Bangor area it was about 30/- which was a fairer payment though the aim should be to make it £2 weekly, and there was need for the strong congregations to help the weaker.[11] Arising out of this debate one writer said that it was time for the Calvinistic Methodists to give with sufficient generosity if only to prove to such as Lord Selborne that there were gentlemen other than the clergy of the Church of England, and this could not be done on incomes ranging from £50 to £100.[12]

There was considerable resistance to such pleas. A quarryman wrote to say that payment should be by results, otherwise a levelling up of wages would only lead to idleness and laziness.[13] This was reiterated three years later in 1877 by a correspondent who said that two-thirds of ministers were lazy and preached the same sermons for years on end and had no new ideas: many of them had little knowledge of the content or presentation of their message, and their weakness as preachers was matched by weaknesses in other aspects of their work, and the only way to bring them to their senses was to pay them by results: the writer alleged that many of those who had settled down in pastorates were not keeping the interest of the young nor following after those who missed the weeknight meetings, but they did not forget to ask for their salary and their conversation was often about money and those who had money, and so, instead of building up a ministerial Sustentation fund, congregations ought to be left to pay a minister what they thought he was worth in terms of results.[14] However, as not a few pointed out, it was difficult to measure results and there were few who could be trusted to be the valuers.[15]

There were also complaints that so much stress on financial matters was unworthy of a spiritual religion but others said that this was one way of bringing before the people the virtue of generosity whereby gold and silver could be consecrated to God's

11. 12/9/74, 6. 12. 19/9/74, 6. 13. 26/9/74, 5.
14. 24/2/77, 5. 15. 10/3/77, 5.

service.[16] One writer said it was remarkable how spiritual many people became when mention was made of the maintenance of the ministry; they pulled long faces and uttered lengthy sighs as though believing that wages could ruin a minister but also believing that their own wealth and bulging barns were proof of their propinquity to eternal life; riches were good for them but would make a minister worldly and parch his spirit. This writer also held that there were churches where, if all members gave in proportion to what was given by some servant girls, ministers could be paid £1,000 a year and there would also be ample to meet all the other demands upon the church.[17] To those who argued that too much money would draw men into the ministry the reply was given that the obvious proof of purity would then be to pay them nothing at all.[18] *Y Goleuad* thought that it was not right to claim that the Holy Spirit called men and then make that an excuse for paying them less than was given to miners.[19]

Y Goleuad, in a mood of ironic scorn, put forward a drastic suggestion which, as the paper acknowledged, was likely to give ground for the accusation that it had been taken over by the Jesuits: the suggestion was a return to ministerial celibacy as a complete solution of the problem of ministerial support. With entertaining sarcasm the woes of Protestantism were depicted as the result of Luther's marriage to Katherine von Bora and the subsequent spectacle of the hero of Worms reduced to disporting himself with babies; his example had been so potent that an unmarried minister was rare, and whenever a ministerial black coat and white tie appeared it was safe to assume that in the background there was a wife and half a dozen children. It was time for a new Hildebrand to arise to root out this practice; elders could begin to advocate celibacy and circulars could be printed by the hundred and sent to young girls warning them against marrying a preacher even if it meant remaining unwed until they reached a hundred years of age. Let the General Assembly enact that all preachers who would in future get married would be excommunicated; those already married could be starved out of existence and it was clear that many elders had begun this policy with encouraging results. The preacher's only right was to a subsistence one inch above starvation, but the plans of elders were sometimes unhappily frustrated by the soft-hearted generosity of relations and neighbours. Elders

16. 24/10/74, 6. 17. 5/12/74, 6; cf. 30/1/75, 6. 18. 1/3/79, 4.
19. 7/3/74, 8.

knew the burden placed upon a church by men who knew no better than to marry, and the burden was becoming heavier as ministers' wives began to consider themselves fit company for the ladies of the neighbourhood, and their children worthy of playing with, if not yet eating with, the children of the clergyman of the parish. This had unsettled ministers who in some cases had been seen walking with the clergyman and so confusing all social distinctions. A college education for ministers and a boarding school education for some of their wives were declared to be the cause of the malaise and the time had come to call a halt and to ensure that no minister married or was paid more than fifteen shillings each Sunday.[20] A few weeks later it was admitted that this proposal was impracticable because even the Anglican clergy most addicted to Rome did not propose to dispose of their wives so as to enable them to live the single life.[21] In more serious vein, *Y Goleuad* said that the Connexion had not yet realised what a ministry involved and it was still generally thought that a studious minister was a lazy man and not worthy of even a minimum standard of payment.[22]

There was also the problem of provision for sickness among ministers and for the widows of ministers. Rev. Daniel Rowlands of Bangor, ever a practical crusader, said he had planned to provide sick ministers with £1 for each Sunday they were laid aside, this being reduced to 10/- after six months, but his committee thought that it was at the end of six months that financial problems would become even more acute and so the rate had been fixed at 16 - to be paid weekly over a longer period. Over a five-year period the amount paid to sick ministers had been £680, while widows in the same period received £1,600: this larger amount was said by some to reflect upon the wisdom of some elderly ministers who had married young wives and then left them to be a burden on the Fund for many years, but Rowlands felt there were difficulties in legislating to ensure that a minister's wife should be of comparable age with her husband.[23]

A corollary to the financial problem was the standard of living which a minister could afford and what was expected. One elder advised his nephew that when he became a minister he should not be affected or vain in his dress but should wear a clean white tie (cadach gwyn) on Sundays and should not give excessive care to

20. 21/3/74, 8. 21. 13/6/74, 3. 22. 10/3/77, 8.
23. 14/12/78, 4.

his hair.[24] Rev. David Davies of Barmouth told an Association in Bala that ministerial dress could be a means of dishonouring the ministry and he referred to one man who went to preach dressed like a fowler and all he needed to complete his outfit was a gun on his shoulders; dress ought not to be such as to attract notice.[25] Another writer moved to new ground when he mentioned the disadvantages of a moustache in a preacher; it seemed to induce a form of vanity whereby its possessor had an irresistible urge to trim it and smooth it and pat it just as an old lady pampered her favourite lap-dog or her pet cat; moreover, its prominence drew attention to it and its presence could also obscure the movement of the lips which was often very meaningful when the speaker was in full spate of torrential eloquence; further, if the voice was weak it would be blanketed by the moustache and someone might ask, "Were you saying something or was it your beard vibrating?"[26] Smoking was not a habit often commended among ministers; it it was said that 3,500 ministers and clergy in Wales were smokers; allowing them two ounces a week this meant they spent £5,000 yearly on tobacco and by their example had probably led about 14,000 each year to emulate them and begin smoking.[27]

It was the conviction of Lewis Edwards that the times demanded the propagation of a system of pastorates wherein ministers would settle down and devote themselves not only to preaching but to the nurture and consolidation of the Connexion and he devoted his great gifts to the advocacy and establishment of such a system. He knew that there was much opposition to the plan and he also knew there was a need for other types of ministry. In his valedictory Moderatorial address at the General Assembly in 1877 he said there was need of the travelling preacher, of the preacher who worked at his task in the world all week, and of the preacher who though without college training could speak good Welsh.[28] Without doubt his advocacy bore fruit and the Moderator of the Association at Newport, Monmouthshire, Rev. David Edwards, said the idea was becoming the norm, though, in his opinion, the people were not enthusiastic for it and it had some disadvantages; he held that the consequent loss of a great variety of preachers in the pulpits was leading to a decline in the numbers attending the Sunday morning services; moreover, it could never become a universal arrangement since not one congregation in six was as

24. 14/2/74, 8. 25. 21/12/78, 6. 26. 8/4/76, 5.
27. 3/5/79, 4. 28. 26/5/77, 4.

yet able to support a minister.[29] *Y Goleuad* gave general support to Lewis Edwards' campaign and said that it was vain for elders to complain about the loss of members and about the inroads of other denominations unless they bestirred themselves to provide the means for maintaining a pastoral ministry. One correspondent referred to the situation in Aberystwyth which had two Welsh-speaking and one English-speaking Calvinistic Methodist chapels which were well-attended but their prosperity would not last unless the members gave according to their means; if they did, they could secure the finest ministers in the Connexion.[30] It was also recognised that ministers themselves were slow in developing a pastoral outlook; many of them had been so long accustomed to an itinerant ministry that while they acknowledged a general care for all they had a particular responsibility for none at all, and none had a definite claim on them. Even ministers who had pastorates were often still away on three Sundays out of four and so had little continuity in their preaching to their people and they had to spend valuable time in travelling on Saturdays which might otherwise have been given to preparation. Much as ministers might like to cling to such arrangements it was questioned by several writers whether the expense of weekend transport and lodging was justified by results; ministers became like vagabonds travelling from one end of the country to the other and one fifth of the money paid to preachers had to go on travelling expenses.[31] This large amount of long distance travelling to fulfil longstanding engagements had certain concomitant problems such as the misunderstanding of dates, changes in circumstances and the onset of illnesses which led to last-minute cancellations, and there was always the temptation to succumb to the lure of an invitation to what might be regarded as a more important pulpit. Breaches of previous promises were especially unpopular if the cause was a more notable or lucrative invitation and, even if such breaches occurred in only a minority of cases the resulting opprobium was widely ventilated. Elders who dangled these lucrative invitations before ministers were looked upon with disfavour.[32] Rev. Daniel Rowlands deplored the habit of booking ministers for as many as twelve years ahead and blamed elders who behaved as if they were out for the best of the spoil and assailed ministers who were too weak to refuse.[33] Even allowing for urgent personal circum-

29. 3/11/77, 8. 30. 11/7/74, 3. 31. 5/9/74, 6; 10/8/78, 4.
32. 10/6/76, 10. 33. 21/12/78, 6.

stances which might justify the withdrawal from an engagement such behaviour was much disapproved and there was special criticism of a young minister who had broken a promise only a few months after his ordination when he had been charged with the importance of keeping his promises.[34] The practice seems to have become endemic in some areas; it was reported that six preachers had been expected on six consecutive Sundays at Moriah, Trawsfynydd, but all except one had failed to turn up and so for five Sundays the empty pulpit had been a sorry advertisement for the zeal of preachers; a reply came from Trawsfynydd saying that the worship of God had taken place on all the Sundays, even without preachers, and it was pointed out that no good had been done by advertising the failure of preachers before the Principality.[35] Another writer felt that the offence ought to be kept in proportion and the displeasure reserved for those who upon a sudden whim broke an engagement and did not even send word on a card with a penny stamp.[36] *Y Goleuad* admitted that these breaches were "one of the worst of sins" and would have to be met by the drastic remedy of extending no further invitation to offenders,[37] but the deep root of the trouble was the outdated system of itineracy which, however valuable in a time of expansion and growth, had become a waste of time and a temptation to the repetition of old sermons; there was need of a ministry to edify the people.[38] One contributor to the discussion said that the lure of the major preaching occasion had become a degrading influence among ministers; one preacher was said to be so selective in accepting invitations that he declined an invitation from a small church by saying that his diary was full when in fact it was not; if all the diaries involved in such transactions were to be revealed the writer thought that an unimaginable state of corruption would be exposed.[39]

These disorders seemed to justify the emphasis upon the need for a settled pastoral ministry but there was also the different problem of those who were unable to get calls to a pastorate. In part, this was probably due to the lack of discrimination with which candidates were recommended by their own churches who must have known that they were not likely to develop into men who would be acceptable as ministers. Yet there were cases where men who seemed to have sufficient qualities were unable to get a call

34. 17/6/76, 11. 35. 22/7/76, 5; 29/7/76, 5; 10/11/77, 9.
36. 10/11/77, 9. 37. 12/8/76, 8; 19/8/76, 14. 38. 3/3/77, 9.
39. 28/6/79, 17.

and for whom the prospect was sad and sorrowful. The Connexion, it was said, turned such men into idlers who in some cases were not asked to preach more than four times a year; 'Is it not shameful that we should train a man for four years and then turn him into a cobbler or a carpenter?" Such cruel injustices were reported to be not uncommon and were a poor reward for the sacrifices of parents and friends who had struggled to give the candidate an education denied to others. *Y Goleuad* said that it would be little wonder if, as a result, the Connexion was forced to make do with ignorant and uneducated men devoid of any college preparation;[40] it was also perturbed by a recent secession of a minister from the Connexion and it discerned in this a restlessness due to the inadequate scope given to younger ministers; there were some elders and officers in the chapels who were doing no pastoral work themselves and yet refused to call others to do it. It was surely not right to keep in idleness men who pledged themselves to devote their lives to the ministry; there were hundreds in the towns of Wales who needed pastoral care and sick people who needed attention but the Calvinistic Methodists were failing in this necessary task while the clergy and ministers of other denominations were there an the spot. "Say what you will, the serious truth is that small and large churches are languishing for lack of pastoral care and of anyone to lead them." *Y Goleuad* thought this was all the more unpardonable because no other denomination in Wales had so many men available for the work but they were deteriorating in idleness since no one called them to work; little wonder that they went to such vineyards as the Church of England or the Independents where they were put to work at once. The elders had allowed the ministry to sink to such a low level of esteem that they considered it too precarious a calling for their own sons and as a consequence the few elders' sons in the ministry could be counted on the fingers of two hands while the number who had gone over to the Church of England was legion (lleng).[41]

This view of the situation as seen by *Y Goleuad* was sharply challenged; one writer said that the reasons for secession to the Church of England were not always so profound as *Y Goleuad* had suggested but could be hypocritical and self-seeking and the secessions were in fact no loss; indeed, if *Y Goleuad* believed that a man who had been trained for the ministry among the Calvinistic Methodists and who knew the issues of freedom and equality

40. 31/10/74, 6. 41. 15/2/73, 8.

could go over to the Church of England on a matter of principle then it was "more richly equipped with the grace of gullibility than I can claim to be." Men who so easily sacrificed the great principles of Calvinistic Methodism could not be any asset to the Church of England and they could not claim they were getting greater scope when they were joining a body whose privileged position was regarded by ninety percent of the people of Wales as an injustice, a monstrous imposition upon conscientious conviction and religious rights, and an unbearable hindrance to the work of religion in Wales.[42] Moreover, there were many who denied that there need be any unemployed probationers. There were ample openings for ministers on the mission field in India, in Brittany, and among the Welsh communities in the North of England which were crying out for ministers ready to pioneer new causes.[43] It was true that in 1874 one student had promised to go to Brittany and two to India but none of those who were complaining about the lack of a call had volunteered.[44] An old elder wrote to say that candidates had no ground for complaint for they had not been guaranteed a call when they were accepted as candidates; they have to go out and seek calls and not expect them to come unsought; in any case there was no disgrace if they had to become ploughmen.[45] Another writer said it was one of the facts of life which had to be accepted that congregations were unpredictable and that one student might get two or three calls while another equally good student would get none. A minister said that some students were too selective and would only go to certain types of churches while others refused to work among the poor and needy and to undertake pioneering work; unless a probationer was ready to take risks and to depend on God for the future he should ask himself if he really had a call to the ministry and if he would not be more at home in some business while also being ready to preach as opportunity offered; this minister also said that if elders speeded up the processes leading to the issuing of calls and also the establishment of pastorates there would be more openings for younger men; he feared that too many congregations were ready to make use of the services of a preacher who resided in the district and so shirked the responsibility of calling and maintaining a minister of their own, and it was known for ministers to hesitate to accept calls to areas where a preacher was known to be already residing there.[46]

42. 22/2/73, 4. 43. 14/11/74, 5. 44. 21/11/74, 5; 28/11/74, 5.
45. 14/11/74, 5. 46. 26/12/74, 6.

One correspondent brashly announced that he was opening an office to bring ministers and students into touch with congregations and to make preparatory soundings about calls and so help to avoid such painful incidents as when the pride of a large congregation was touched when a young man refused its invitation; the office would also seek to inaugurate negotiations in cases where ministers and congregations were tired of each other so as to enable the minister to get a call elsewhere. It is not surprising that nothing more was heard of the project.[47] *Y Goleuad* admitted there was some uneasiness about both the brevity and the length of some pastorates. A popular preacher might get frequent calls and move about very often; this would cause envy and unrest among others and also prevent the building up of strong ties between ministers and people which was the very purpose of the pastorate plan.[48] Indeed, the pastorate plan had facilitated more frequent changes because ministers now lived in houses provided by the congregations and so were not tied to one district by the ties of ancestral and personal property. *Y Goleuad* said that ministers were moved to change because congregations often expected more from them than they could possibly fulfil but these changes tended to dishearten some churches who regarded the minister's departure as a judgement upon them.[49] It was also suggested that some ministers used the threat of accepting a call to extort more money from their present congregation. *Y Goleuad* thought it strange that the resurgence of mobility should have taken place just at the time when Wesleyans were having doubts about the value of so frequent changes, but nevertheless admitted that there were men unsuitably placed who needed a change and there were others who needed a change to shake them out of a decline into vegetation.[50]

In addition to the problems associated with calls, pastorates, and finance, there was also much concern over the way in which ministers carried out their tasks week by week, particularly the work of preparing and delivering sermons. Rev. Griffith Ellis, one of the promising younger ministers of the time, wrote a penetrating diagnosis of the contemporary position of preaching in Wales. He realised that the aura which had surrounded the pulpit was disintegrating and was being replaced by a widespread spirit of inquiry which authority ought not to try to stifle; moreover,

47. 6/5/76, 5. 48. 14/6/79, 11. 49. 5/8/76, 8.
50. 14/6/79, 11.

since there was warrant for believing that all things were moving forward towards perfection, there was no point in lamenting the waning influence of the pulpit, in decrying the new power of the scientist, or in longing for the good old days. Preaching, said Ellis, had to take place in a new climate; Daniel Rowland had been attuned to his age, and John Elias to his, but there was no proof that they would have been effective preachers in the second half of the nineteenth century; what was needed was not the renewal of past ages but the ability to live in the present age. This was where the Colleges had a great part to play because there was urgent need of men who knew their age and how to speak to its need; there was no credit in boasting, as some did, that they were ignorant and had not read a new book for twenty years, or an old one for that matter; some had no plan of study and on the rare occasions when they had a sermon on the stocks they had to depend on the few small commentaries they possessed. Ellis said it would be no exaggeration to say that some men had not made six new sermons in the previous twenty years; they so arranged their publications that they did not appear in the same pulpits more than once in ten years, and after ten years they began to repeat their six sermons, and so it was true to say that sermons were being preached which had been heard by men who were in their graves for twenty years. Ellis could not agree that the least learned preachers were the most effective; it was true that learned preachers could deliver a dry essay but the alternative was not the aimless ranting of some preachers; knowledge could be kindled by a holy fire.[51] Rev. D. C. Davies took a similar line when he told the Association in Denbigh that the great preachers of the past had preached to their age and had been sensitive to changes in the climate of the times; hence no real success could be achieved by imitating the preachers of the past because if they had lived on into the age of their imitators they would have continued to develop. Davies took the example of Henry Rees, the first Moderator of the General Assembly, who, though he outlived most of his own age, did not cease to grow in mind and expression. Ages changed for the better and for the worse and no age could be resurrected, and the way to preach in every age was to preach from a faith in God's continuing work in every age; Davies reminded the ordinands that they would have to preach

51. 16/8/79, 9: The Leading Article was unsigned but Ellis acknowledged it as his in the margin of his personal copy of *Y Goleuad*.

in the age of the telegraph, the newspapers and the railways, which were all modern marvels at that time.[52] It should also be noted that the most influential preachers of the period, such as Owen Thomas, Dr. John Hughes, David Saunders of Swansea, and David Lloyd Jones of Llandinam, not to mention Lewis Edwards and his son, Thomas Charles Edwards, were men of more than average knowledge and ability.[53]

There were many contributors to *Y Goleuad* who reiterated the views and exhortations of men like Ellis and Davies. One said that even preachers at Associations were delivering old sermons which they had used twenty years before. This writer thought there was far too much self-congratulation about the quality of Welsh sermons whereas the truth was that men made a dozen sermons do duty for a whole year and that these sermons were repeated after the lapse of a few years and ministers went over the same truths in the same form in the same tone and in the same style for years an end; ministers were liable to become deadened in mind and spirit.[54] Moreover, the perils of imitation were often demonstrated; as one writer said, habits and postures which were natural in a great preacher became ludicrous when adopted by others; there was a famous preacher who stood perfectly erect on the rostrum but an imitator gave the impression that at any minute he might change from the vertical to the horizontal; also, mannerisms of voice natural in one man looked like symptoms of of incipient lockjaw when adopted by another. Imitators only drew attention to themselves and this was fatal to their message which could only be effective if it was delivered with earnestness to the people and did not become a mere discussion of a topic in their presence.[55] Lewis Edwards who had more opportunities than anyone in the Connexion for observing the growth of young ministers also spoke of the unnatural poses either of levity or sobriety which they tended to assume and he was burdened by their indiscretions when they did not know when to speak or when to keep silent.[56]

There was much stress on the need for a fire in the heart which had been kindled by devotion to Christ and a desire to make clear to others the Gospel of Christ; it was recalled that John Elias seemed like a man who had come from heaven in a chariot of fire.[57] This zeal was not to be confused with a thumping and stamping

52. 28/6/79, 7. 53. 16/8/79, 9. 54. 21/11/74, 6.
55. 6/2/75, 6. 56. 5/12/74, 12. 57. 13/2/75, 5.

and bellowing which of itself would draw out no response if there was no fire in the heart, but it had also to be recognised that the response might be delayed action as had been the case of a man who became a church member as a result of a sermon he had heard preached by John Elias ten years previously.[58]

There was also a lengthy controversy about the length of sermons. The spark was kindled by a letter claiming that there was a current outcry for shorter sermons but also asserting that this arose from those with the feeblest minds; some people were so mentally helpless that any sermon would be too long for them. The writer thought that the demand had been fostered by the current popularity of novelettes (ffug-chwedlau) and concerts which had created a taste for trivialities and had so enfeebled the intellectual digestion that any strong meat was liable to stick in the throat; women in particular had developed a taste for the frothy and superficial because of the large part played by music in their education instead of the solid nourishment from the *Confession of Faith* and Charles' *Hyfforddwr*. It would only be a short step from a short sermon to a light sermon with a minimum of content, a sermon without a soul. However, the reasons given for the demand were baseless; cold feet in chapel and domestic duties at home were often pled as reasons but cold feet were no hindrance to salvation and those who pled domestic duties were usually those who had servants at home to prepare the dinner. The writer admitted that the two-hour sermons of Henry Rees and John Elias were probably too long since not all preachers were capable of holding the interest for so long, but anything less than a one-hour sermon was not worth calling a sermon; while it was true that some congregations were so shallow as to be wearied by even a half-hour sermon, visiting preachers should always assume that the congregation could digest good sermons and so should avoid producing a trifle such as might be prepared by a clergyman of the Church of England.[59]

Such a pontifical declaration was not left unchallenged. One reply stated that while it was true that congregations varied in their capacity to assimilate sermons it was still true that sermons were far too long and, by overshadowing the other parts of the service, they killed the proper aim of worship which was to make real the sense of the presence of God; moreover, the tradition of long sermons led many preachers who had not the capacity to

58. 27/2/75, 5.

59. 13/3/75, 6.

prepare long sermons to drag out their material by slow and hesitant speech.[60] There was also the tendency to reserve the full oratorical powers for the sermon and to read the Scripture in a dull and aimless way which devalued the exercise.[61] Worship, as one writer said, was not only proclamation to unbelievers but adoration by the faithful.[62] It had even become customary for preachers to mumble through the first half of a sermon and then gradually build up the oratorical pyrotechnics to a spell-binding finale but there were those who said that people had also wearied of this; the current results of preaching did not justify the methods in common use; it was said that it was Moody and Sankey with their brief prayers, readings, hymns and sermons who kindled the the recent signs of spiritual vitality.[63] The original protagonist of long sermons was then roused to say that the existence of people who were so light in their thoughts as to demand short sermons was not in question and to give them a solid sermon was like "casting pearls before swine," but these people were not to be made the standard of what sermons ought to be and it could only be the frothiest hotheads who would suggest that Welsh preachers should follow the methods of Moody; the feebler-minded members of congregations had no right to prescribe the length of sermons than had children to lay down the length and content of their lessons; if children had their way there would be no school at all and "some big stupid fellows" had no aim beyond the ease of a sofa; sermons ought indeed to aim at intelligibility but this was no reason for forsaking the heights of thought and language for the sake of every backward listener.[64] He admitted that there might be persons in the congregation who could not understand a Welsh sermon but any sermon would be too long for them and they could not be made the criterion. As for a suggestion that the whole service should be confined to one hour he dismissed this as a sign of loss of faith in the Holy Spirit.[65] However, criticisms were not easily silenced and it was asserted that the lengthy preaching services among the Calvinistic Methodists and the ritualistic services in the Church of England both tended to focus attention on the minister, and services beyond one and a half hours in length became tests of endurance rather than acts of worship; a three-quarter hour sermon was adequate for the exposition of any point but even that could seem long if the in-

60. 27/3/75, 5; 17/4/75, 6. 61. 1/5/75, 5. 62. 10/7/75, 5.
63. 27/3/75, 5. 64. 3/4/75, 7. 65. 8/5/75, 5.

creasing trend to the dispassionate essay type of sermon continued.[66] There would be a wave of abstentions; indeed, the absence of young people from many services was proof that neither they nor their parents valued the present type of sermon and it was quite wrong to dismiss the discontent as the result of mere levity of mind.[67] Reference was often made to Christ's condemnation of long prayers and of much speaking but this was countered by references to the precedence given to preaching in the Apostolic ministry as recounted in the New Testament and it was claimed that the process of abbreviating sermons had come to full flower in the Church of Rome which, having lost the sermon, had lost the Gospel and replaced it by another Gospel which was now creeping into the Church of England; if Calvinistic Methodism was to follow the same trend it would be a sign that religion in the Connexion had reached a low and corrupt state.[68] Little wonder that after weeks of this controversy the Editor was moved to comment that whatever might be said for or against long sermons there was much to be said for shorter letters to the Editor; after three further months of controversy he said he would still allow two further letters.[69]

A further storm arose over the right of preachers to use other men's sermons. The storm began when it was alleged that a sermon by Rev. J. Ffoulkes Jones, B.A., Machynlleth, had been used by a preacher in Glamorgan. The text of the sermon was John 14, verse 27, "My peace I give unto you; let not your heart be troubled neither let it be afraid," and it had appeared in *Y Drysorfa* in 1877. The reporter said that the preacher who had used the sermon had been much praised for his sermon and this was proof of the quality of Jones' sermon.[70] This drew a blistering attack from a correspondent who saw the matter in quite a different light; he did not doubt the quality of Jones' sermon but the man who used it was a thief who had gained a bogus reputation by using stolen sermons; he said he was not against the use of Jones' ideas but against a direct recital of another man's sermons; this could gain for the perpetrator of the offence a totally undeserved reputation for thoughtfulness when his only virtues were a retentive memory and a gift of speech; he could gain a greater renown than the man who gave the people the fruit of his own study; he would also

66. 15/5/75, 5. 67. 1/5/75, 5. 68. 3/7/75, 11; 10/7/75, 5.
69. 22/5/75, 5; 29/5/75, 5; 12/6/75, 5; 17/7/75, 5; 24/7/75, 5; 31/7/75, 5; 7/8/75, 5; 14/8/75, 5. 70. 6/10/77, 5.

receive undeserved invitations to preach from a half-mesmerised people. The theft of sermons was said to be not uncommon and the sermons of Ebenezer Richards, John Elias and other notable preachers, as well as the work of Hodge on *Systematic Theology* and Muller's *Treatise on Sin,* were cited as sources of many sermons, but, as one writer pointed out, it was scarcely possible that Muller's two-volume study could have been used without the exercise of some measure of selectivity by the borrower. It was also said that before the accusation could be taken seriously there would need to be specific evidence as to the number of sermons stolen and as to the proportion of the thousands preached weekly which was stolen; moreover, when theft was being added to the accusations of covetousness, ambition and laziness which were being levelled against ministers, detailed evidence ought to have been provided and the accusations would have been more fittingly made in person before the Monthly Meeting than behind the cloak of anonymity in the press.[72] A defender of the use of other men's sermons denied that this was theft; once a sermon had been delivered it was public property and was available for general use; a sermon could only be a stolen sermon if the manuscript had been stolen from the preacher's study before it had been preached by its composer.[73] In any case, why should the words of great sermons not be used by God irrespective of whoever uttered them?[74]

One notable feature of the period was that despite all the criticisms of ministers there were few cases of ministerial scandals. There was one instance of a minister who was suspended from the ministry for drunkenness.[75] There was another case of an unnamed minister who was excluded from office by his Monthly Meeting but had been restored by the Association; this restoration was criticised as a breach of an Assocation rule but the critic brought a storm of abuse upon himself; he was labelled as a hypocrite who could not see the beam in his own eye; his motives were questioned and he was accused of being possessed by a narrowness of spirit which was not the spirit of Jesus Christ who would have rejoiced in the merciful spirit of the Association. The critic in the end withdrew his criticism on the ground that the rule to which he had referred only applied in the realm of the Association in the South.[76] Scandals were thus very few but they were also regarded

71. 13/10/77, 4; 27/10/77, 4. 72. 20/10/77, 4; 27/10/77, 5; 1/12/77, 5.
73. 10/11/77, 9. 74. 3/11/77, 17. 75. See p. 175.
76. 12/1/78, 13; 19/1/78, 4.

as salutary warnings to the vast majority to be watchful lest they brought dishonour to their calling.

The crowning need of the ministry was earnestness (difrifwch). At the Association in Bala in 1878 the Moderator told the preachers' meeting that levity (ysgafnder) in the ministry was to be deplored whether in daily behaviour, in making announcements or in sermons. Owen Thomas thought that the needed seriousness was not inconsistent with cheerfulness (sirioldeb) and both virtues had been displayed by many of the early leaders of Calvinistic Methodism. Rev. David Saunders said he was perplexed by this problem for while they were deploring levity the Connexion was often regarded by outsiders as a sad-faced and ponderous society; he thought their duty was to behave in a way fitting their calling; for example, if preachers entered the pulpit looking like men on serious business they would do much to improve the demeanour of congregations who often gave little impression that they had come to worship God. Rev. Joseph Thomas of Carno warned against the idea that ministers could be made to conform to any one pattern; it would be as ridiculous for some men to adopt a seriousness foreign to their nature as it would be for a commoner to adopt the airs of a nobleman. Dr. John Hughes agreed with Owen Thomas that earnestness and cheerfulness were not incompatible but there was a perilous ecclesiastical jocularity wherein a preacher assumed a deprecating evaluation of his sermons when he was discussing Sunday services with fellow-travellers on the way home on Monday, or he might expatiate on the "hwyl" by which he had been possessed. Lewis Edwards insisted that preachers had to give the impression that they were on important business and it was a disaster when people came expecting great truths and had to go empty away; this earnestness was necessary not only in the pulpits but also in the homes and among the families where preachers were invited to stay during their visits; "Never behave in such a way that people will not want to see you again." Edwards also warned preachers against directing attention to themselves as this could soon become a deceptive folly and talk about truth and sanctity could become a zeal for self and a form of self-advertisement; hence the need was urgent for self-denial and a concentration upon Jesus.[77]

77. 21/12/78, 6; 11/8/77, 7.

Chapter V.

THE CHURCH'S FAITH

The Methodist movement did not arise because of any doctrinal disagreement with the position of the Church of England. There was no question of any repudiation of the historic creeds and Howell Harris did not draw up any formal statement of faith. Formal statements of faith did not form a large part of the worship within the Connexion though the doctrinal content of the hymns of Williams Pantycelyn cannot be overlooked. In the early period of the movement assent to creeds or confessions was not required of those seeking to be approved as preachers or ordained as ministers; the test of a candidate's soundness lay in the discernment of the congregation and of the Monthly Meeting and of the Association. Thomas Charles did not prescribe what answer should be given when he took part in the drawing up of questions which could be put to candidates. Moreover, in the eyes of many Calvinistic Methodists, clerical subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles did not guarantee a ministry which adorned the Gospel. However, it was not long after the formal constitution of the Connexion as a separate denomination in 1811 that moves were made to draw up a specific Connexional Confession. It is strange that John Elias, so notable as a Tory in politics and so chary about disestablishing the Church of England from its privileged position in relation to the State, should have been so zealous in seeking a Confession which would emphasise the separation from Anglicanism. The Confession was drawn up in Aberystwyth in 1823 and it was embodied in the Constitutional Deed of the Connexion which was legally approved in 1826. In this Deed it was declared that "no alteration in the said Confession of Faith or the tenets or doctrines to be taught and maintained by the said Connexion should be at any time allowed or even discussed." However, while this Confession of Faith became a Connexional standard, subscription thereto by each and every preacher and minister was not required. John Elias and his sympathisers were disappointed that conformity to its teaching was not more definitely required; this was probably one of the reasons why Elias had dark forebodings about the survival of the Connexion. However, in Owen Thomas' magisterial biography of John Jones Talsarn there is clear ground for thinking that an attempt to extract individual subscription would have split the Connexion from end to end. Moreover,

rigid as was the position laid down in the Deed, its finality could not be maintained in theory or in practice in a changing world. In the Deed itself provision had to be made for considerable latitude of interpretation and it was laid down that an Association could by a three-quarters majority decide on "any matter of weight in the exposition of doctrine or discipline"; this meant that the Association had power to decide what was a matter of weight.

One of the most debated features of the Confession was its stern definition of the doctrine of predestination and in 1875 the General Assembly, preceded by the two Associations in the North and South, declared that while it did not wish to change anything in the 1823 Confession relating to the atonement made for the Elect it also asserted "the opposite truth of the infinite sufficiency of the Atonement" and thus brought into the forefront the position of the early Methodists, particularly the all-embracing invitations embodied in the hymns of Williams Pantycelyn. Further, in the nineteenth century, when non-conformists were fighting for marriage, burial and education rights, it was not thought necessary to follow the Confession which ordered obedience to rulers and payment of taxes without murmuring.

Nevertheless, while there were reservations about parts of the Confession among many members of the Connexion and while individual subscription was not required, there was also considerable interest in it and it was accepted by many as the expression of their own position and in 1874 it was thought worthwhile to issue a new edition of it in Welsh and English; Rev. Roger Edwards and Rev. Thomas Levi edited the Welsh edition and Principal T. C. Edwards and Rev. William Evans corrected the proofs of the English version.[1] At an Association in Pwllheli an Independent minister was received into the Connexion and he gave as one of his reasons for joining the Connexion his preference for the Connexional form of Church government and his attachment to the Confession of Faith which he regarded as a bulwark against heresy. His application was backed by the notable power of Owen Thomas and Dr. John Hughes.[2]

In the General Assembly of 1876 the retiring Moderator, Rev. William Williams, said that the Confession of Faith had been drawn up at a time when the Connexion wished to repudiate Arminianism and so the compilers had laid special weight upon certain Calvinistic tenets, but that particular need had passed and

1. 1/7/76, 4. 2. 6/9/79, 4.

it was now time to reassert the need for a zeal for souls and an urgent invitation to all sinners who would only have themselves to blame if they were lost. He therefore thought that the declaration in 1875 was timely and revealed a more cautious and less stark attitude than that shown by the fathers who compiled the Confession, but he issued a cautionary note and said that effective preaching could only arise from a firmly-founded faith.[3] Williams was reiterating what had been said in 1874 by the retiring Moderator, Rev. D. C. Davies, who stated that there was need of deep conviction and flexibility of expression so as to be able to apply the unchanging Gospel to changing needs; to refuse to consider what was new or what seemed new was to nurture an hypocritical infallibility. Davies held that the success of Calvinistic Methodist pioneers was due to their readiness to adapt basic principles to the needs of their age and he saw in his own time a need for change in the Sunday school methods and a harnessing of musical interest to the spread of the Gospel and a fresh stress on family religion.[4]

There were not lacking those who saw in such pleas the danger of dilution. Owen Thomas illustrated this by relating a story he had heard about two deacons in Pembrokeshire; one soaked himself in the solid works of Charles, Bunyan and Erskine and was known as a "roast-beef deacon"; the other cultivated his emotions and was charmed by every soothing preacher and he was known as a "plum-pudding deacon"; when they came to die the first had a remarkable assurance of faith but the second was anxious and uncertain and had no silver-tongued orator to soothe his spirit.[5] *Y Goleuad* also issued a warning about the consequences which could follow if a clear conviction about the content of the Gospel were to be abandoned and it pointed out how at a recent Congregational Conference in Leicester a move had been made to dispense with every creed and confession; the leaders had fortunately been able to secure the rejection of such a proposal which arose from the modern prejudice that what was old was only fit to be rejected and that such demolition was the work of independent, courageous and fearless thinkers.[6]

There was no controversy in Calvinistic Methodism about the main doctrines of the faith; the doctrines of God, Creation and Redemption were the staple theme of sermons, with special stress

3. 1/7/76, 4. 4. 26/6/74, 10. 5. 9/12/76, 6
6. 25/5/78, 8.

on Redemption. Movements born in revival cannot escape the emphasis upon the amazing delivery from a dark abyss of sin and hopelessness which had come through the Gospel; this was an oft-repeated theme. Rev. David Saunders, in his retiring address as Moderator of the General Assembly in Aberystwyth in 1878, stressed the centrality of "the great truth that the immortal God has worn our nature, has lived and died on our earth for the sake of those who deserved to die for ever but should live for ever"; other Biblical themes might be adorned with abundant talent but without the essential emphasis upon the aweful and glorious Gospel these themes would turn out to be stones instead of bread and there was always the peril mentioned by Gladstone that it was possible to preach about the Gospel rather than preach the Gospel.[7] Rev. Thomas Job of Conwil also stressed the essential elements of the Gospel when he gave the address on the nature of the Church at the ordination Association in Llansamlet in 1876 and he said the Church's one task was to preach this Gospel; after listing the main doctrines, especially the doctrine of Christ's sacrifice which made Him the basis of the sinner's hope before God, he said that Christ was the rock upon which the Church was built; the Church was a pillar to sustain the public profession of Christ before the world.[8] Owen Thomas, speaking at the Association in Caernarvon in 1878, thought there was a tendency to give a changed connotation to words such as regeneration, justification, forgiveness, resurrection and immortality. This is, of course, a temptation in every age and is a means of satisfying the speaker's conscience without arousing the criticisms of the hearers but Thomas' fear was that the doctrine of eternal punishment might be eroded.[9] A writer to *Y Goleuad* complained that this theme was rarely mentioned in sermons though it had had a central place in orthodox belief through the centuries and had been stressed by "the old Puritans who could not be improved upon."[10] Some saw these trends as a fulfilment of John Elias' fears that if the Connexion and its ministers were not tightly controlled there would be an inimical drift from sound teaching. Dr. John Hughes thought there were two dangers; one was to rest in a traditional attachment to truth and the other was to refuse to accept anything which one had not thought out for oneself; the first danger could lead to a transformation of the living truths of the faith into the opinions of the Church and so make them a dry

7. 1/6/78, 11. 8. 17/8/78, 5. 9. 31/8/78, 14.
10. 6/4/78, 14.

orthodoxy which would eventually issue in unbelief; the other method which was advocated in some Congregational circles could lead to a position where nothing more was required of members and ministers of the Church than some degree of some religion. Hughes said the problem was how to be loyal to a system of theology and at the same time to be fired by the Holy Spirit and centred on Christ who was "the Sun around whom every system circulates." Another speaker said that some in their haste to say what was new rather than what was true had swallowed too easily many German ideas about the mercy of God and so had weakened the sense of the need for the atonement provided by God who was holy as well as merciful. One speaker said that such ideas had already penetrated into Wales much more deeply than had been supposed and had so emasculated the convictions of ministers that they were no longer gaining ground; they were speaking fiction as truth and truth as fiction. David Charles Davies spoke with his usual clarity and penetration and he admitted the truth of many of these assertions but said that his difficulty was not that he found it hard to believe the truth of the Gospel but rather in keeping his spirit up to those truths so that they really gripped him. This debate, in the opinion of some observers, reflected a tendency to follow the transient theological fashions of the time.[11]

In the South, the prevailing view was that ministers were faithful to the truth of the Gospel. Rev. Robert Roberts of Llangeitho told the Association in 1874 that even if preachers were not then in the same titanic mould as John Elias or Ebenezer Morris there were still able and sound preachers in Wales.[12] A warning voice was raised in 1878 when Rev. Thomas James of Llanelli gave the charge in the ordination Association in Llansamlet and said that poisonous and destructive teachings were being spread abroad in books and from the pulpits, and if, as was certain, this led to the loss of many young people, their blood would be required at the hands of ministers who had led them astray.[13] Presumably he was referring to the Biblical studies which were then emerging from Germany and were being read in some quarters in Wales, but his alarmist views were not widely shared, at least in print or in public.

Y Goleuad was not in favour of the German views about the origin and structure of the Scriptures and yet it is worth noting that it published a series of articles by Dr. J. Harries Jones of Trevecka on some current figures in German theology and he

11. 31/8/78, 10. 12. 10/10/74, 10. 13. 17/8/78, 6.

gave a not unsympathetic account of the teaching of such men as Ewald and Tholuck.[14]

At the Aberporth Association in 1879 one elder said there was no danger of Deism and Unitarianism in Welsh pulpits but he felt there was a dangerous disregard of the Confession of Faith which ought to be remedied lest the young people be corrupted.[15] A similar plea for a fresh emphasis upon the Confession had been made at an Association in Brecon.[16]

There seems to have been little reaction in Wales to the Robertson Smith case in Scotland, and it aroused little interest in the columns of *Y Goleuad* which was usually ready to comment on current events near and far. Mention has already been made of its warnings against following novelties in doctrine and yet a leading article appeared in August 1879 which castigated the somnolence of the Welsh interest in theology. The writer said there was no omen that any theological question was troubling any minister or deacon in Wales; their opinions seemed to be already formed and fixed but this was probably not altogether a satisfactory position since it could mean that no one was expecting any new light from any quarter and that the tranquillity was due to a traditional orthodoxy rather than to any clear and living and unfeigned faith; the recent rumblings among the Congregationalists were not to be commended but the mulish and uncharitable stiffneckedness of the defenders of old positions had not given a notable example of Christian conduct.[17] However, *Y Goleuad* was mistaken if it thought there were no advocates of openness to new light. At the Llandovery Association in October 1879 Rev. John Davies, Blaenannerch, said that there were things essential to believe and to do; among the essential beliefs was the fact that God gave His Son to the world to live and die for its sins in the unique sacrifice of the Cross; this truth had then to be expounded and applied in different ages and places to meet new situations as they arose and Davies regarded different forms of church government as forms which were developed to meet particular situations and he also considered different theological systems to be attempts to expound the Christian doctrine in a way which would meet particular needs; there was therefore need to maintain the unity of spirit in the bond of peace as they sought to apply the truth. Changing times demanded fresh statements of

14. 16/10/75, 9; 6/11/75, 9. 15. 25/5/79, 6. 16. 19/10/78, 6.
17. 2/8/79, 8.

the truth.[18] Rev. J. Jones, Newquay, told the Brecon Association in his retiring address from the moderatorial chair that God had not left them and they ought to hope for better things and pray that the Holy Spirit would give them understanding of the great themes.[19]

One doctrine which did get great emphasis was the doctrine of the Church. It had become a tradition of the Connexion that Ordination services should contain an address on this topic. The aim of the exercise was not only to expound the Biblical teaching and to enlighten the ordinands but also to define and justify the standing of the Connexion as a true part of the Church of Christ. The connexional idea was deeply embedded in the practice of the Connexion: the local churches were regarded as embodiments of the Church of God and the whole Connexion was also called the Body.[20]

One of the most notable expositions of the doctrine of the Church was given by Thomas Charles Edwards in an address at the ordination at an Association in Anglesey. He said that the visible Church was the tongue and hand by which the invisible Church found expression in the world. The Church was not primarily a body of people who held the same doctrines, had common aims and shared the same experiences. The Church was the result of the work of Christ who had drawn to Himself a people to share His rising from the dead and to partake of His glories and receive spiritual privileges; the Church was the Body of Christ.[21] Christ's incarnation had brought the spiritual world into this world, His redemption had opened its doors; His resurrection released an authority to develop His Church, and one of the marks of its growth had to be not only the new relationship with God but also with other believers. The new society of the Church had a history and existed in history. At any moment in that history the Church's life was sustained by Christ's presence among His people, yet it had also a true succession of believers from the time of Christ and His Apostles to the end of the world. That succession, valuable as it was, was not the source of the Church's life; that life was seen wherever two or three were gathered in the name of Christ, and a fellowship of two or three was as much the Church as was the worldwide fellowship. Nevertheless, the small fellowship did not exist apart from the larger and longer fellowship,

18. 16/8/79, 5: "Y mae yr oes wedi cyfnewid ac o ganlyniad y mae yn rhaid i ryw bethau gael eu newid genym ninau."
19. 19/10/78, 6. 20. 3/7/75, 11. 21. "Corff Crist yw'r Eglwys."

because, just as rivers, however small, all run to one sea, so all the churches make for one union in Christ. Moreover, just as there was need for the small company there was need of the larger and stronger group. If the greatness of grace was able to encompass no less than the whole of humanity, that could not be achieved by small groups saving a few souls here and there but by a body gathered in sufficient numbers to "conquer and subdue the strongest principalities of the world and rule the history of the ages until the end of time. Everyman who was in the priesthood of all believers had a work to do for Christ, but there was also a corporate work to be done in a fellowship with forms and rites suited to the age and the land where it was placed.[22]

Owen Thomas gave the address on the nature of the Church at the ordination at the Association in Bangor in 1877 and he said that the visible Church, composed of believers and their children, was the Temple of the Living God; its head was not the Pope even though he claimed infallibility nor the Queen even though she was called the Defender of the Faith nor any Parliament or Assembly but Christ who was the Church's absolute Monarch. The Church was the fellowship wherein the sinner was counselled, the impenitent excommunicated and the penitent restored. Unlike Calvin, Thomas thought that the offices of apostle and evangelist were continued in the Church; the preachers succeeded in the apostolic work of preaching though they could not be eyewitnesses as the Apostles had been; there were apostolic evangelists who went from church to church and Thomas thought more use could be made of such evangelists to serve the Church at large. The elders were, in his view, the embodiment of the New Testament bishops who taught and ruled; the New Testament had also prescribed deacons but the duties of this office had been combined with those of the eldership in the Calvinistic Methodist structure.[23] This shows that in the Connexion organisation was to a large extent an empirical matter and its Calvinism was much more concerned with the doctrines of election and grace rather than with any attempt to transfer to Wales the Genevan understanding of New Testament polity.

Rev. N. Cynhafal Jones, in the address on the Church at the Denbigh ordination Association in 1879, said the Church of the New Testament was a society called out of the world to be a people of God and could be seen either in the whole body in heaven and

22. 13/7/72, 5. 23. 15/9/77, 5.

earth or in the local manifestations in particular areas; whether regarded locally or universally, the Church was a body of people and not a system of theology or government, though such systems were necessary within the body. The presence of Christ in the Church was the fountain of its life; Jones stressed that this presence was being obscured by ritualists who stressed that a priest was necessary for the efficacy of the Sacraments. The Holy Spirit gave guidance to Christ's people wherever they met.[24]

Despite the general admission that forms of government were left to the discretion of the Church in its own time and circumstances there were many who held that the graded dignities of the Church of England and of other hierarchial churches encouraged the quest for offices and authority and though not all clergy got their offices by any improper means yet the system was far from the simplicity of the Apostles; true ministers of Christ should be satisfied with the sufficient title of "Preacher."[25]

Critical as were many observers concerning the liturgical and ritualistic trends in the Church of England the Connexion nevertheless retained and honoured the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper as definite means of grace. Baptism was a Sacrament ordained by Christ and the Connexion adhered to the practice of extending this to infants who were children of believers. It was sometimes difficult to stick to this limitation since there were many hearers who had themselves been baptised and who attended the services and supported the work of the congregation but who nevertheless did not become communicant members and so were not technically included among the believers; yet they wanted to have their children baptised and in many cases it seems they were baptised. In some cases they were not baptised and one writer asked why these infants, when they grew up and applied for membership, were not baptised; he thought this was a clear loss to those concerned as well as being a neglect of Christ's command and of the Connexion's own standards.[26] Rev. David Saunders wrote a series of Articles on the doctrine and practice of Baptism; he said the Calvinistic Methodists shared the Low Church and Evangelical view of the Sacrament; Baptism was reception into the visible Church and to all the privileges of the Gospel Covenant; this involved a change of status and opened the way to rich

24. "Pa le bynag y mae cymundeb o saint, y mae cymundeb o ddynion yn cael eu h'arwain a'u dysgu gan yr Ysbryd Glân": 26/6/79, 5.
25. 9/2/78, 9. 26. 19/6/75, 17; 17/11/77, 13; 20/4/78, 4.

advantages. Saunders also allowed a certain force in the High Church view as expounded by Hammond and Thorndike that Baptism involved a change in spiritual state and in the relationship to God which, if allowed to develop, would in time transform the character. He granted that in Baptism there was wrought a certain regeneration but this required a later renewal in order to bring it to full maturity.[27] In the case of adults this renewal could precede the regeneration of Baptism.[28] This view leant more to the Catholic understanding of the Sacrament than was wholly acceptable to the Connexion and one writer said that these opinions expressed by Saunders were as outdated as pre-Galilean astronomy.[29] Another writer queried Saunders' interpretation of Titus 3, verse 5, where he placed "the washing of regeneration" and "the renewing of the Holy Spirit" in apposition as though they referred to the same thing; the critic thought they represented two separate stages and it is to be noted that the New English Bible translation takes this position. At the Association in Llangeitho in 1877 Rev. Thomas Levi succeeded in getting a resolution passed stating that the Connexion adhered to the position of The Confession of Faith rather than to the position outlined by Saunders.[30] At the Association in Caernarvon in 1878 Dr. John Hughes said that the practice of infant Baptism was based not just on a few texts but on the general consensus of Scripture and signified the covenant of God which in all its dispensations embraced the children[31]

It will thus be seen that then as now there was a considerable variety of emphasis upon the Sacrament. This was almost inevitable in a Connexion where many members had come into the fold through deep personal experiences in times of revival and in whose experience there had been no obvious benefit of baptism. Individual conversion and personal belief were therefore the dominating themes in the thought of many preachers. Others born and brought up within the fold and within the circle of a devout family were often more conscious of their inheritance in the Church and of God's prevenient grace. However, though some may have given little place to the benefit of baptism in their preaching yet there was never any proposal to abandon the practice of infant Baptism and there was general agreement that too little was made of the Sacrament and that its benefits would be more surely seen

27. Ailenedigaeth; Ailnewyddiad. 28. 7/8/75, 10.
29. 14/8/75, 4. 30. 11/8/77, 4. 31. 7/9/78, 6.

if there was greater care in administration and if more was said about the obligations of parents and of the congregations.[32]

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was an important element in the life of every congregation in the Connexion. In the decades prior to 1811 as people withdrew from the services in the parish churches there were many who for lengthy periods were deprived of the Sacrament and it was generally believed that this was a real loss and rendered the people guilty of neglecting Christ's command, and so there arose a demand for the celebration of the Sacrament within the Methodist Societies. This pressure was a major factor in forcing Thomas Charles to sanction the first Calvinistic Methodist ordinations. It was the further need for the preparation of new communicants and for the regular observance of the Sacrament which was one of the important reasons for the settlement of ministers in pastorates. The need for great care in the preparation of communicants was often stressed in the pages of *Y Goleuad*. At an Association in Bala in 1878 Owen Thomas thought there was great carelessness among many who went to the Sacrament; he said there had been old members who meditated for weeks beforehand on the Sacrament and went with expectation to meet the Lord at His table. Rev. Thomas Levi agreed and said that those who had not prepared would fail to plumb the depths of the words, "This is My Body," or to understand that in the Sacrament there was an apprehension of the Lord which would not be had anywhere else.[33] Rev. David Saunders had told the General Assembly in the same year that while the Calvinistic Methodists did not follow the High Anglicans in the veneration they gave to the consecrated elements they nevertheless were as one with them in their belief in the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament. This was also affirmed by Rev. D. C. Davies.[34]

The method of celebration was not stereotyped and there was, as there still is, considerable variety of usage. As a residue of its Anglican inheritance the Connexional practice was for ministers to distribute at least one of the elements, usually the bread; many communicants wished to receive the elements from the hands of a minister. Yet Rev. Owen Thomas expressed a quite general opinion when he said that Sacrament services were often too long and wearisome and he thought that they could be reduced if the deacons were to be used to distribute the elements; he said he had seen one minister taking round four chalices but since he had only

32. 7/9/78, 6. 33. 21/12/78, 6. 34. 8/6/78, 4.

two hands he was like a juggler passing cups from one pew to the next and at the end he did not know where they had gone.[35]

Rev. Dr. J. Harries Jones of Trevecka said, in his retiring address as Moderator of the Association in St. Davids, that the early leaders of Calvinistic Methodism had not sought to make a break with the practices of the Established Church and he thought there was still in the Connexion a widespread respect for many of its forms and teachings and he himself thought it would be beneficial to return to the old habit of going up to the altar for the Sacrament; he said that the prevailing practice of distribution in the pews was inconvenient; if the old custom could not be restored he suggested that the people should sit together and that the elders should help to take round the elements, or another minister could be invited to assist. He said the New Testament had not prescribed how these things should be arranged.[36] The suggestion that communicants should sit together and not be scattered over the chapel shows that all chapels were not always filled at communion services.

Dr. Harries Jones' remarks show that, stern as was the hostility to the privileges of the Established Church, there was also a rather guilty awareness that the final break with the Church of England had not been all gain. It was often felt that the increase in denominations, however justified, was contrary to the injunctions of St. Paul who had issued many warnings against division and party strife. So while there was on the one hand a zeal to defend the right of the Connexion to take its place as a true part of the whole Church there was on the other hand a constant interest in attempts to heal the divisions within Christendom. In 1870 this interest was stimulated by events in Scotland which marked the beginning of the bringing together again of the shattered elements of Scottish Presbyterianism. The United Presbyterian Church was formed in 1870 and soon afterwards this Church began to make approaches to the Free Church which had been formed at the Disruption in 1843. Lewis Edwards' admiration for Chalmers and the Free Church would have guaranteed Welsh interest in the Scottish movement. *Y Goleuad* welcomed these trends and said that the sight of a divided Christendom was something which could not be ignored; the task of bringing these divided sections of the Church together again was a task of great difficulty, indeed an impossible task apart from some miracle. Nevertheless, said *Y Goleuad*, it

35. 25/4/74, 3. 36. 1/11/79, 7.

was impossible to be content with things as they were and the time was ripe for an attempt to draw the envy and hatred out of the relations between the various churches; such envy and hatred were contrary to the whole spirit of Christianity and all had to feel ashamed in the face of such divisions; many of the differences in order, government and ceremonies and even in doctrine were intractable, but were there no areas for the exercise of charity and co-operation? It was deplorable that men who trusted one another in business and social and family life should so often be suspicious and discordant when they approached the doors of church and chapel. *Y Goleuad* felt that in every denomination in Wales there was rampant contention and triumphalism. The causes of these discords would pass in time but there was ground for uneasiness as to the mood which would then prevail in Calvinistic Methodism; perhaps as old hatreds died there would arise another type of clamour and contention, but there could also be a better way and the Connexion could rise in the power of the Gospel and of Christian unity to take a place in the great abiding Church which God would yet create; "let us hope, yes, pray earnestly, that our place will be there."[37] *Y Goleuad* returned to the theme a year later and said it was weary of sectarianism and disgusted with the whole internecine strife between denominations; the writer said he knew that would be an unpopular line to take but it was as serious a blot upon non-conformity as upon the High-Churchmen to sink into a sectarianism which put the part in place of the whole. Certain signs of decline in this spirit were said to be capable of detection; children went to the same schools and there were occasions when members of different denominations did pray together. There were, said *Y Goleuad,* some churchmen who thought there were no Christians but themselves and some non-conformists who thought that Christianity consisted solely in forcing Parliament to disestablish the Church of England, but there had been a cooling of old hatreds.[38] They were not yet dead. This was pointed out by *Y Goleuad* in 1874 when it said that enmity was kept alive because each denomination spent so much time exposing the weaknesses of others, but it was not possible to ignore the existence of other denominations and harder still to prove that they had no vestiges of Christianity. Generosity was a difficult virtue to practise but there was room for co-operation in the work of the Bible Societies, prayer meetings and even preaching

37. 25/5/72, 9. 38. 8/5/73, 8.

meetings. There would also be much gain if each denomination were to examine its own weaknesses instead of analysing the weaknesses of others.[39]

Y Goleuad also suggested that denominational acrimony arose in part from the provincial and parochial childishness[40] of the Welsh people as a whole; they tended to judge themselves by their own standards and to bask in the thunderous applause of the eisteddfodau; this childishness showed a lack of maturity which was also seen in the prevalence of the sectarian spirit. There was need of much pioneering missionary work in many parts of Wales but few showed any interest in it until one denomination ventured to make a start and then, out of denominational rivalry, all the others rushed in lest they miss in the sharing of the spoil. Denominational papers vied in the bitterness of attacks upon other denominations; their ferocity was only moderated by the readiness with which they turned aside to turn their fire upon some faction in their own denomination. This jealousy and sectarian strife then masqueraded as a zeal for truth and the result was that the Welsh were become like unto a tribe of Kilkenny cats who ate each other. In England the rancour of party strife was a model of fairness when compared with the ferocity displayed between and in the Welsh denominations. These national characteristics of the Welsh had, in the opinion of *Y Goleuad*, been accentuated by religion without being refined by education[41]

This concern for an easing of denominational tension arose from a concern with the New Testament ideal of the Church but there was much more involved than a desire to see a system which would fit into some carefully thought-out theological pattern; indeed there was a reluctance to get involved in theological definitions. There was also a deep awareness that Calvinistic Methodism had not started as a theological project but as a response to the exhilarating awareness of the presence and power of God and there were memories of experiences when a spirit of unity seemed to transcend many barriers. Many claimed that in the 1859 revival there had been a wonderful spirit of unity and they looked back with longing to that time when many had been brought into the denomination and many of whom still had the glow of those days inspiring their lives. There were others who had a sense of anti-climax, of deflation, and of an encircling indifference which was a serious blight upon the cause of true religion. Then in 1870 the

39. 24/1/74, 8. 40. Plentynrwydd. 41. 30/3/78, 8.

famous Moody and Sankey campaign was under way in England but seemed to be making comparatively little impact in Wales. Some feared another 1859 experience lest it might leave them with an even more chilling aftermath; others were envious of Moody and yet tried to show why Moody's methods and the English language were not suited to Wales; still others longed and prayed for a fresh kindling of the fire of faith. *Y Goleuad* was not uncritical of these hopes whenever they became extravagant; it disagreed with those who thought that "these restless upheavals" would solve all religious problems; Moody's campaign was bearing fruit but it had to be remembered that in Scotland, where its impact had been most notable, there had been the preparatory sowing of the seed by the parents, by Sunday schools and by the Church; these were the essential preparation for a sound revival and such preparation could be intensified at once.[42] In the whole period from 1870 to 1880 there were constant lamentations that signs of unbelief and a languid interest in religious matters were more evident than a living faith.[43] Others, who perhaps saw the Scottish and the Irish scene with the green glow of distance, wondered why Wales was being passed by in the contemporary wave of revival.[44] A report in *Y Goleuad* said that as a result of Moody's work in Ireland the Spirit of God had swept hundreds from Papacy into the liberty of Protestantism.[45]

Y Goleuad thought that the duty of the various denominations in Wales was to do what could be done by way of preparation through prayer, through a greater brotherliness between the denominations, through a sure faith in the promises of God and a dependence on His grace.[46] The paper admitted that the results of the Moody campaign had disproved the fears and exceeded the hopes which had often been expressed by the editor and other contributors to its columns and it was certain that Wales would be influenced; indeed, some showers of blessing had already been falling on parts of Wales. However, there was no credit in sitting waiting for revival; apart from the practical steps of more eager prayer and preparation much could be done by injecting some life into the heavy and lifeless singing which was to be found in many places in Wales and sounded as if it were being dragged out of a hearse. Prayers were also often too long and aimless and sermons needed to be compressed and aimed directly at the mind and spirit

42. 5/9/74, 8. 43. 12/9/74, 8 and 12. 44. 5/12/74, 5.
45. 5/12/74, 5. 46. 19/12/74, 8.

of the hearers.[47] Some suggested that a lack of pastoral work among the people and of a challenge to those who lived careless lives was part of the cause of the relatively meagre signs of revival.[48]

At the Association in Newport, Monmouthshire, Rev. David Edwards said that 1877 had not been one of the great years in the history of the Connexion though there had been reports of a welcome renewal of life in the North; some preachers from the North had kindled some life in some parts of the South but, in his view, the general impression was of flagging interest in the week-night services, in the Societies and in the Sunday morning services; indeed some churches had no Society meeting and in some Societies people never spoke of their experience; Sunday schools likewise were becoming centres of instruction involving only children and their teachers and were ceasing to be a means of grace for all.[49] At the Association in Llangeitho the report on the state of religion in Cardiganshire was given by Rev. John Evans, Abermeurig, a well-known and highly-respected figure in Wales; he tried to assess the lasting results in Cardiganshire of the 1859 Revival. In 1859 the total membership of the Calvinistic Methodist churches in Cardiganshire was 13,000; in 1863 it had fallen to 12,003 and then to 11,340 in 1871 but had risen to 12,374 in 1876. Evans pointed out that the only period when there had been an increase was from 1871 to 1876 and he attributed this not to revival but to the greater administrative efficiency resulting from the dividing of Cardiganshire into two Monthly Meetings in 1871; moreover, this increase had taken place in a time which many bewailed as a dead period, and he concluded that revival by itself did not guarantee an increase in the Church's membership.[50] At an Association in Llansamlet in 1878 a not dissimilar trend was discerned in West Glamorgan; there had been an increase in numbers in 1859 but many of the members had not shown a persevering stability and there was room for a great improvement in the spirit of brotherliness and kindness in the life of the churches; it was not heresies which impeded the Church but a lack of purity and of honesty in business and of other virtues.[51] However, at the Aberporth Association in 1879 one speaker said that in spite of some instances of hypocrisy and backsliding after 1859 there were thousands who were still witnesses to the powerful change which had taken place in their lives.[52]

47. 11/8/77, 8. 48. 26/6/75, 15. 49. 3/11/77, 7.
50. 11/8/77, 8. 51. 17/8/78, 7. 52. 24/5/79, 6.

Whatever may have been the justification for reservations about revival all signs of new life were eagerly welcomed. The majority of reports of revival in the seventies came from North Wales. At the elders' meeting at the Association in Treffynnon it was stated that two hundred had recently joined the five chapels in Rhos, two hundred in Pwllheli, and fifty in Amlwch; further increases were expected in Lleyn and Eifionydd in Caernarvonshire.[53] There were also reports of a stirring in Anglesey where the Rev. James Donne who had himself been much influenced by Moody was being used by God to move others; the movement had begun at Kingsland in Holyhead and so far one hundred had professed conversion.[54] There had also been a notable visit by Moody himself to Bala: the report stated that when Moody visited the combined Jerusalem and Athens of Wales the town-crier went round the town to announce that Moody would speak in the chapel the next day at 9 a.m. and that the meeting would be preceded by a meeting for prayer at 7 a.m. Many were present at 7 a.m. and by 9 a.m. the chapel was full and at the end of the meeting thirty persons professed conversion. From Bala he went to Rossett where he laid the foundation stone of the new Calvinistic Methodist chapel and addressed a crowd of thirty thousand.[55]

Y Goleuad grew more sympathetic to the work of men like Moody but also held that revivals were not the only sign of God's working and said it was wrong to imply that God was not working at other times; even in New Testament times God gave a different kind of success to James and Luke than He did to Peter.[56] *Y Goleuad* also felt that God could be using the unusual methods of the new movement which was then being led by William Booth, later to be known as the General of the Salvation Army, though there were perplexing aspects of the movement with its strident announcements and military paraphernalia.[57]

The decade under review was not one in which many important theological works by Welsh authors appeared. Lewis Edwards had already published most of his influential works and Thomas Charles Edwards did not produce his main works until later in the century. Consequently, the columns of *Y Goleuad* did not contain many reviews of Welsh theological works nor many references to the state of theological thinking in Wales. Yet there was considerable interest in theological trends outside Wales, particularly in the

53. 24/4/75, 7. 54. 18/3/76, 15; 15/4/76, 10.
55. 31/7/75, 13; 7/8/75, 9. 56. 18/1/79, 9. 57. 5/4/79, 5.

Church of England, and it is of interest to study the appreciations of English Theologians.

When F. D. Maurice died in 1872 *Y Goleuad* saluted him as "one of the greatest divines of this century" and gave a lucid account of his teachings. Maurice was primarily concerned not with the moral scaffolding of Christianity but with its core, the reality which descended upon the human soul as with the touch of fire; this reality could not be described with the precision and exactness of a Euclidean proposition for that would be to reduce it to the husks which could not quench human hunger; the reality was a divine revelation which illuminated the soul, pacified the conscience, satisfied the eternal longings and subdued the selfish will. *Y Goleuad* thought this was an important emphasis which stressed the frequently neglected consequences of the revelation of God in Christ, but it also discerned a weakness in Maurice's position in that he made the feeling of human need the basis of his theology whereas he should have started from the principles of Christian theology, namely that God was Governor as well as Father, that sin is transgression as well as weakness, and that there is need of an atoning sacrifice to remove the guilt; Maurice would thus have established the integrity of God which was at the basis of any sound theology. Instead of beginning from God's righteousness which needed vindication Maurice's thesis was "I am miserable because I have failed to realise God"; our salvation from misery came when we saw in Christ that God was our Father and when we realised our already existing relationship as children of the Father. This, said *Y Goleuad*, failed to take into account the need for the establishment of a new relationship which could enable God to be our Father; this was the starting point of Dr. John Owen, the Cromwellian divine whose works had a great influence upon Calvinistic Methodists. Yet in spite of this weakness Maurice had made a useful reassertion of important truths which had been neglected. God did continue to be our Father in spite of the disobedience of the prodigal. Moreover, Maurice had shown by his own example that even within the Christian tradition men had the right to speak for themselves; it was even better for a man to get the half-truth for himself than to have the whole truth at second-hand. Amid much dishonesty of thought which *Y Goleuad* said was rife in the land Maurice was one of the freest from all hypocrisy; he had a burning love for truth and was ready to suffer for it as he had done when he was driven from his

professorship at King's College, London, because he would not assert a belief in the endless punishment of the ungodly. His honesty was perceived by ordinary people and he was looked up to by the working-class who instinctively saw in him one who loved them and would work on their behalf, particularly in providing them with education as he did in his pioneering work for a Working Men's College. Much as *Y Goleuad* disapproved of Maurice's dismissal from his professorship and regretted that he had never been made a bishop, it said that any other denomination would have given him the same treatment and the Calvinistic Methodists would not have asked him to preach at an Association.[58]

When Bishop Samuel Wilberforce died in 1873 as a result of a fall off his horse *Y Goleuad* produced a very interesting survey of his life and influence. It listed his many high qualities, his power as a preacher and platform orator, his leadership of his clergy and his political astuteness as a member of the House of Lords. He had begun with the advantage of being the son of the great emancipator, William Wilberforce, and he had all the gifts necessary for a successful man of the world. Indeed, he was so much at home in the world and so relished its honours that he was often thought of as oily and saponaceous and was nicknamed "Soapy Sam." Moreover, he had early seen that the evangelical tide was ebbing and so he moved into the High Church tide and was quickly borne to honour. This change was not entirely due to prudential motives but took place because neither he nor his brother Isaac who went over to Roman Catholicism found in the evangelical tradition an answer to the needs of the spirit. It was hard to account for the rapidity of his rise; none of his many books were likely to prove immortal; powerful and popular as a preacher, there were others who outshone him; as a theologian he never came near deposing Pusey from his throne as the thinker of the High Churchmen. However, if he was not of the first rank in any sphere, he was second in so many spheres that he was borne to the heights. Though his power and influence had been used to advance the High Church cause *Y Goleuad* was sorry to see him go from the scene because it would be long before there appeared another in whom so many high qualities were combined.[59] This verdict would accord with recent estimates of his life and work.

58. 13/4/72, 8.
59. 26/7/73, 8. See Newsome, D., *The Parting of Friends.*

Dean Stanley was another figure who drew much attention. As Dean of Westminster he had done much to revitalise the worship in the Abbey. Among his ventures was the holding of a children's service. *Y Goleuad* thought that the attempt was laudable but was crude and primitive when compared with the method of questioning the children which had been brought to a fine art in Wales; "He had no idea of how to hold a public meeting for the questioning of children."[60] However, if the Dean were to learn the technique it could be the beginning of a new chapter in the history of religion in England. *Y Goleuad* said Rev. Robert Owen of Rhyl could teach the Dean how to conduct such meetings and it would be well if Owen were to pass on some of his ideas to the Dean. The Dean would surely welcome them for he was ready to welcome any novelty and this novelty would be less harmful than some of the theological novelties he had embraced. One of his addresses at the children's service had been full of novelties. Beginning from the salutation in 1 John, "My little children" he had wandered into the traditions concerning John in his old days at Ephesus such as the stories about John the Hunter and John the Robber which though interesting were not much different from Aesop's fables. Doubtless there was some value in these services and children would recall in later years that they had heard the famous Dean. The Connexion could also begin to experiment with a wider variety of services and could include a children's address at an Association; an address by Owen Thomas would certainly contain a better Gospel than that retailed by the Dean.[61] A few months later *Y Goleuad* approved the Dean's reply to Cardinal Manning's claim that the spiritual powers had a supremacy over the state in spiritual matters. There was a sense in which this was true but Stanley had said that the papal view was the perversion of the truth and did not encourage confidence in the spiritual leadership of the Papacy.[62] Five years later Rev. Griffith Ellis wrote a leader in *Y Goleuad* in which he criticised the Dean for his attitude to the Thirty-nine Articles; the Church of England allowed a wide latitude of interpretation and there was scarcely any limit to individual understanding of the Articles. Stanley had made use of this freedom. Ellis admitted that Stanley had many laudable gifts including a liberality of spirit which was ready to see goodness wherever it was to be found; his work on the Jewish Church was a praiseworthy study though his dependence on the

60. Holi'r Plant. 61. 3/1/74, 8. 62. 8/8/74, 8.

German scholar, Ewald, somewhat vitiated its conclusions. It was the Dean's sermons which disturbed Ellis; they contained little Gospel and gave the people a stone instead of bread. For example, when on a visit to Wales, he had preached on the national characteristics of the Welsh and had given the people a scorpion instead of a fish. Moreover, in a recent article in *The Nineteenth Century*, the Dean had built his case on Scripture rather than on the boggy lands of the Fathers and Councils but Ellis thought his use of Scripture left much to be desired. He defined the Body of Christ as Christ's love of truth, his indefatigable beneficence and absolute resignation to the Father's will; the blood of Christ was the "inmost essence" of his character which was love. There was no word about atonement in the whole article.[63] As for conversion, Stanley defined it as a turning round from a wrong to a right direction, a change of thoughts and feelings which is always going on in anyone who reforms himself at all; it is the growth of a strong character. A youth from Denbigh giving such an answer would not, in Ellis' opinion, have got his certificate at the annual Association examination but though Stanley was a Doctor of Divinity the standard was lower in England.[64]

Another influential figure who also at that time occupied the pulpit of Westminster Abbey was Canon F. W. Farrar. *Y Goleuad* said he was a man of of strong religious feelings and his *Life of Christ*, though not in the same class as lives by Pressensé and Neander, had twenty times as many readers and was therefore a great influence upon the thinking of many; his work had a power to appeal to the feelings but was lacking in serious exposition of the Scriptures. Farrar, according to *Y Goleuad*, was not a deep thinker and he dismissed the teaching of the Church, including that of Augustine and Calvin, on eternal punishment which he held to be a concept inconsistent with the idea of God as a God of love. *Y Goleuad* held that man had not the capacity to set up a standard by which a God of love could be judged and therefore the only thing to do was to accept the Scriptural revelation of how He did work, however paradoxical that might seem to man to be; on any human standard it was difficult to see why God allowed His Son to enter this world at all.[65]

Judging from the generally critical attitude to Churchmen with either high or liberal tendencies it is of interest to note a report in *Y Goleuad* of a sermon by Canon Liddon at St. Paul's; the reporter

63. 15/11/79, 8. 64. 22/11/79, 9. 65. 25/5/78, 8.

gave it unqualified praise and said his admiration for Liddon was greater than ever.[66] A Welsh student at Oxford reported that the University Church would always be filled for a sermon by Liddon. He also mentioned the wide range of preachers who could be heard in Oxford; at one extreme there was Pusey and at the other was Canon Ryle. He had also heard the famous Dr. Benjamin Jowett who had a simple and beautiful expression when in the pulpit and who had preached, in a sermon heard by the student, on unity and brotherhood and the evil of party spirit.[67] Another visitor to London said he had heard three sermons at Westminster Abbey, the City Temple and Spurgeon's tabernacle and they were all full of Christ; he confessed that they compared very favourably with a sermon he had heard on a previous visit in one of the wealthiest Calvinistic Methodist chapels when he had heard nothing of Christ.[68] Another report appeared about a fine sermon by the renowned Irish orator, Archbishop William Magee of York, but a sermon by Dr. Vaughan at the Temple Church would have been outshone by half by any Welsh sermon.[69]

The bulk of Connexional thinking was thus content with the main doctrinal affirmations of Christendom and saw the Connexion as a branch of the Church of Christ. There was no unchurching of other branches of the Church but rather a readiness to learn from them and to work for the reduction of sectarian strife. While the Connexion adhered to the main doctrines of the Creeds and to its own Confession of Faith which had much in common with the formularities of Reformed Churches, there was no great stress on verbal assent to a traditional system which could be an arid dogmatic structure without a living experience of God who moved the believer to faith and obedience.

66. 25/4/74, 10.
67. 9/2/78, 7.
68. "Nid oedd dim Crist o'r dechreu i'r diwedd": 12/2/76, 4.
69. 7/4/77, 6.

Chapter VI.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

The survival of the Welsh language was a topic of perpetual interest. Increasing Anglicisation was generally accepted as inevitable. The colonies of Welsh-speaking people outside Wales were also expected to decline. As Welsh people left Wales and settled in England and, as was likely, married English partners their children would be a monoglot English-speaking generation. In South Wales there was an invasion of industrial workers mainly from Ireland but also from England and all these knew no Welsh and were not likely to know it though their children would likely pick it up if they mixed with Welsh-speaking children. On the coastal areas of the North and West it was expected that there would be a considerable influx of new residents. Most of these would be a different type from those drawn to the industrial areas of the South; many of them would be prosperous people who would come to spend their retirement in attractive areas along the coast. In common with the new settlers in the South they would not know the Welsh language.

There was much debate as to the responsibility of the Connexion towards these people. There were many who held that the Connexion was essentially Welsh-speaking and would not survive transplantation into an English setting. If the new arrivals in Wales could not speak Welsh let them join a denomination where English was spoken; some were ready to see English speakers go to the Church of England.[1] If they or their children took the trouble to learn Welsh they would be welcome in the chapels of the Connexion but the Connexion was under no obligation to provide English-speaking chapels. Similarly, there were and ought to be more Welsh-speaking chapels for those who left Wales but where emigrants and their children did not know Welsh they ought to go to one of the numerous English Free Churches.

However, this was not the view which prevailed. Lewis Edwards put the whole weight of his influence behind the project for the establishment of English-speaking causes. His view, which was shared by the main leaders of the Connexion, was that the English language was going to become more and more the language commonly used in Wales and if the Connexion was not to become a shrinking body and to sink into an incurable decline

1. 13/10/77, 5.

then it would have to bestir itself to be ready to preach the Gospel to the people in the language they understood. He also held that the fact of being Welsh was not tied to being able to speak the Welsh language and that the Connexion had an ethos and a flavour which could perfectly well survive in the English language. Moreover, when Welsh people went outside Wales they retained a love for things Welsh and found refreshment in the Welsh chapels but their children, often unable to speak the language; parents, often out of loyalty to their background, would take their children to the Welsh services but since they could not understand what was being said they were only alienated from the faith of their fathers. Edwards believed that there was urgent need to provide English causes where such people could be nurtured and given something of that characteristic Connexional ethos which retained its distinctive quality even in an English setting. He advised his son, Thomas Charles, to concentrate mainly on preaching in one language and he was well content when his son went to minister to the English cause in Fitzclarence Street in Liverpool. At a meeting in this chapel a Liverpool councillor, Mr. William Williams, said he considered that the day was past for building large Welsh-speaking chapels costing about £20,000 or even a crop of small Welsh-speaking chapels; the future lay in fostering English-speaking causes. At the same meeting Thomas Charles Edwards said that unless the Connexion paid attention to the need for English-speaking causes the time would come when Calvinistic Methodism would have disappeared, and he was prepared to go to war against Welsh brethren who opposed the development of English causes. He was backed up by his father with the memorable words that wherever he met a man, be he Welsh, English or Irish, that man was his neighbour and he had a responsibility towards him; the Gospel was greater than any division of race or language.[2] Lewis Edwards also pled for the use of even a few sentences of English in Welsh services, especially in England; this would help the children who could not understand Welsh or even the casual passer-by who had dropped into the service to feel at home. Many correspondents supported Edwards in this plea and there were some who also pled for a few Welsh sentences in an English service so as to rekindle in Welsh speakers their links with the land of their fathers.[3]

2. "Pa le bynag y caem ni ddyn, bydded Gymro, Sais, neu Wyddel, yr oedd yn gymydog i ni": 21/1/71, 4.
3. 16/11/78, 4.

In February 1871 a presentation was made to Thomas Charles Edwards by his church in Liverpool and the Chairman, Mr. William Roberts, paid tribute to Edwards' ministry in an English-speaking church because it had brought to the notice of the public the importance of such churches for those of Welsh descent who could not speak Welsh; there was also a missionary work to be done in Liverpool and Calvinistic Methodists ought to be as ready to use the strange language of England to preach the Gospel in Liverpool as they were to preach it in foreign tongues to the people of India or Brittany.[4]

Y Goleuad noted the opening of a new English chapel in Arkwright Street in Liverpool at a cost of £6,000 and saw this as the shape of things to come.[5] Whatever the emotional loyalty to the Welsh language, Calvinistic Methodists had to be aware of the expanding use of English in Wales, and even if forecasts of the disappearance of Welsh within fifty years proved to be much exaggerated there was no doubt that English would be widely spoken; it was therefore essential to work with that tide and indeed take advantage of it.[6] This was the theme of many addresses in the Connexional Courts. Rev. D. C. Davies told the General Assembly in Carmarthen in 1874 in his address as the retiring Moderator that it must not be assumed that Calvinistic Methodism could only flourish as long as it clung to the Welsh language; to act upon this assumption would be one of the reasons which could extinguish the Connexion in a generation or two.[7] The General Assembly in 1876 was told by its retiring Moderator, Rev. William Williams, that thousands of people had already been lost to the Connexion because of the spread of English, and the Connexion would be living in a fool's paradise if it continued to ignore this expansion.[8] Even in the strongly Welsh-speaking North Rev. Daniel Rowlands told the Association in Pwllheli in 1876 that it was regrettable that the Connexion was the only denomination in Bangor which had not established an English cause there.[9] In 1879 the Association in Holyhead was told by the retiring Moderator, Rev. Emrys Evans, that English was growing and it had to be provided for in the Connexion.[10] In the same year at a meeting of the Association in the South the retiring Moderator, Dr. Harries Jones, said the Connexion was not giving the zeal to

4. "Nid yn India a Ffrainc yn unig y dylem bregethu mewn iaith estronol, ond yn Liverpool a'r goror hefyd": 4/2/71, 4.
5. 7/2/74, 8. 6. 25/1/73, 8; cf. 2/2/78, 8. 7. 20/6/74, 10.
8. 1/7/76, 4. 9. 2/9/76, 5. 10. 12/4/79, 7.

the foundation of English causes which were urgently needed and he suggested that many Welsh churches ought to send off swarms of forty to fifty members to be the nuclei of the new English causes which would be the the future strength of the Connexion especially in the industrial areas in the South.[11]

In practice this was the normal method by which new causes were founded though the initial nuclei were usually smaller than Dr. Harries Jones suggested. The procedure can best be illustrated by taking the example of two new chapels built in this decade.

In Newtown in Montgomeryshire Calvinistic Methodism made its apearance as far back as 1804 and Thomas Charles and John Elias had visited the town to help the infant cause; the Welsh-speaking cause occupied various buildings until it built its permanent chapel in New Road in 1876. One of its earlier meeting places had been in Ladywell Street and English services were started there in 1828. A number of English Sunday schools were opened in the district. A site for an English chapel was offered in Gullet Yard by a Mr. Thomas Davies of Aberbechan but the infant cause was not yet strong enough to embark on such a project. A fresh impetus was given to the idea of an English cause in 1842 when two zealous Calvinistic Methodists, Mr. E. Chapman and Mr. Jeremiah Williams, were pioneers in a new English Sunday school. This met in the Corner House where Commercial Street joined the Crescent. English services were started and soon the premises were too small and they were then held in the Town Hall and then in the Blue Bell Club Room and then in a large room above the stables at the Elephant Hotel. In 1844 a site for an English chapel was bought from Edward Gittins and a new chapel built; the land and buildings cost £841 5s. 5d. Among the early ministers were Rev. Owen Thomas and Rev. D. C. Davies. who both became outstanding figures in the Connexion. Then Rev. T. J. Wheldon of the Welsh chapel became minister of both chapels in the town until 1873 after which there was a vacancy for five years. During this quinquennium plans had matured for the building of a more commodious building and a building fund was launched. Difficulties in obtaining a site were triumphantly overcome when the present splendid site was presented free of charge by Lord Sudeley; it was estimated to be easily worth £500. The foundation stones were laid on 3 May, 1878; one was laid by Mr. Hanbury Tracy, a brother of Lord Sudeley and also

11. 1/11/79, 7 and 10.

the local Member of Parliament; the other was laid by Mr. David Davies of Llandinam. The contractor's estimate of the cost of the building was £2,725 and with other expenses the total cost would be over £3,000. On the day of the laying of the foundation stones the collections amounted to £438 9s. 0½d.[12] The building was completed and opened on 16 May, 1879. Many gifts were donated to furnish the building and these were a great help to the congregation but the congregation had to find about £3,000; on the opening day £1,275 had still to be found; the collections on the opening day and on the following Sunday amounted to £220 18s. 4½d. and the remaining debt was thus just over £1,000. The architect was Mr. Richard Owens of Liverpool who designed very many chapels for both Welsh and English congregations in the Connexion and whose ingenuity in providing a variety of designs must have been sorely taxed. The Crescent Church in Newtown is among his best attempts and it was hailed in *Y Goleuad* as an adornment to the town, an honour to Calvinistic Methodism and to the architect. During the time of building Rev. Edward Parry had become minister of the congregation and he remained in Newtown until his tragic death when he was burned to death in a fire in his home.[13]

Another interesting story of the growth of an English cause can be recounted in connection with Christchurch, Barmouth; its growth was typical of what happened in many seaside resorts where it was felt there would be a special need for a cause to cater for residents and visitors. The cause began with services in the summer months which in time began to be continued in the winter. Lewis Edwards preached at services on 14 October, 1877, when there were about one hundred present. Acting on his advice a Society was held after the evening service and twenty-eight members decided to form an English cause and it was said that others would join. *Y Goleuad* was confident that the Welsh-speaking brethren would give much help to the new cause where there would be an opportunity for constructive work by those who did not get much scope in the Welsh chapel which was full and well organised. The infant cause proposed to look for a central site and to begin a new building as soon as possible.[14] Within six months the foundation stone of a new chapel was laid. This rapid development was largely due to the interest of a bank

12. 11/5/78, 6; see also 14/7/77, 5, and 8/12/77, 7.
13. 24/5/79, 13. 14. 20/10/77, 10.

official in Barmouth, Mr. R. Rowland, who hailed from Portmadoc. The new chapel was designed by the same architect as had designed the Newtown building, and it was estimated that it would cost £1,200 and hold 250 people. The stone was laid by Mr. John Roberts, Bryngwenallt, Abergele, who said he much approved the policy of the Connexion which aimed at ensuring that people could worship God in the language they understood without having to leave the Connexion. Over one hundred guineas were subscribed on the memorable day.[15] Before the end of 1878 the chapel was ready for opening and *Y Goleuad* rightly said it was on one of the most central sites in the town and was a handsome building in the Gothic style. It appears that there was some local criticism of its architecture. Some said that its stone work and Gothic design made it look like a Roman Catholic building but *Y Goleuad* pointed out that beauty and dignity in buildngs were not the features which constituted a Roman Catholic church nor the chief reasons why the Roman Catholic system was rejected. Others seemed to think it would have been more characteristic of the Connexion if it had looked like a barn. There were also critics who noticed that there was a pinnacle on the side of the frontage nearer to the street but none on the side nearer to the adjacent buildings and they said it was like a "one-eared pig" but *Y Goleuad* said that such critics neither understood Gothic architecture nor remembered Scripture;[16] some of the most famous Gothic buildings of Europe had only got one spire, while those who knew their Bible would remember the favourable reference to the unicorn which had only one horn and was a creature out of the ordinary. The collection at the opening services was £120 but it was noted that there had been a disappointing attendance at the English services on the occasion.[17]

While these stories are typical of the growth of many causes there were other cases where the growth was often hazardous and fraught with many obstacles. Some Welsh-speaking chapels tended to look upon the new causes as poor relations. It was even suggested that some of those who had gone from Welsh chapels to help the new causes had done so in order to be in the popular trend and so to profit from the social status that then went with the English language or even to carve out little empires for themselves which they could never have gained in large Welsh chapels. There were also some chapels, especially in the Monmouth and

15. 9/3/78, 11 16. "mochyn unglust." 17. 16/11/78, 7.

Glamorgan area, which felt that they were being seriously weakened by the drift to English chapels;[18] it was even suggested that the time had come to solicit support for weak Welsh churches rather than to collect for new English causes.[19] There were also objections to the argument that provision should be made for visitors since not many English-speaking Calvinistic Methodists were likely to come from England; the bulk of the visitors would be the responsibility of other denominations; if the Calvinistic Methodists were expected to cater for all sorts of visitors then the Connexion could expect other denominations in England and Scotland to provide Welsh-speaking services for Welsh visitors. There was, however, considerable wisdom in the suggestion that where the founding of an English cause seemed feasible a beginning might be made in Welsh chapels at times when they were not in use for Welsh services.[20]

One major cause of uneasiness about the development of English was the difficulty of assimilating them into the Connexional framework. In some cases their representatives were given a chilly reception into the Monthly Meeting and the Associations; in other cases the representatives felt ill at ease in meetings where the predominance of the Welsh language made them unable to follow the business. Since the new English causes tended to draw their membership from many sources there was also a tendency to develop an Independent mentality within these causes.[21]

The painful events associated with the birth of the English cause in Aberdare left a certain amount of suspicion of the English causes within the Connexion. The origins of this cause can be traced to a Sunday school which was started in 1856 and was fostered by some members of the Bethania Welsh congregation. Among the pioneers was David Rosser, a local solicitor; he acted as Precentor and he was to be at the centre of the storms which were soon to blow around the young congregation. The Glamorgan Monthly Meeting encouraged this group to form an English-speaking cause. On 7 October, 1867, the foundation of a new building, to be known as Trinity Church was laid. For a time most of the services were conducted by students from Trevecka. Among these was a Mr. John Evans who was called to be the first minister of the new congregation and he was inducted in July 1868. It seemed that the congregation's future was assured with its loyal

18. 10/6/76, 4. 19. 13/10/77, 5. 20. 2/9/76, 5.
21. 13/2/75, 5.

group of members, its new and highly-esteemed minister, and its new building, but this was not to be the case. When the Association in the South met in Fishguard in 1875 it was informed that Evans wished to join the Presbyterian Church in England and had already begun negotiations with that Church. Moreover, his congregation in Aberdare was so attached to him that they had decided to follow his example and had asked to be received as a congregation into the Presbyterian Church in England. The application had been made in the first instance to the Presbytery of London which had referred the matter to the governing Synod of the Church; the Synod then referred the matter to the Presbytery of Birmingham. The Association was perturbed because all these moves had taken place without any reference to the Association by either the Aberdare congregation or the Presbyterian Church in England.[22] This began a turmoil which lasted over two years and caused great distress to many Connexional leaders who were seeking to foster co-operation with the Presbyterian Churches of the world and to graft elements of Presbyterianism into Welsh Calvinistic Methodism; this controversy endangered the good relations with Presbyterianism in England and also gave ammunition to those in Wales who held that the exuberance of Methodism had little in common with the sobriety of Presbytarianism.[23] It is to the credit of leaders in both England and Wales that relations between the two Churches were not interrupted. At Fishguard, the Moderator, Rev. Ebeneser Williams, pled for calmness in discussing the matter lest the peaceful Holy Spirit be driven away and he asked the Association to give a favourable reply to Dr. Oswald Dykes' invitation to a meeting in London in connection with the formation of a World Presbytarian Alliance.[24] *Y Goleuad* rejoiced that the debate had been carried on with a desire to avoid saying anything which would create a barrier to the future union of Presbyterianism in England and Wales.[25] Three months later it hoped there would be continued restraint in dealing with a case which was novel, in which no moral issue was involved and yet which could arouse deep feelings.[26]

Evans himself spoke calmly at Fishguard and said his decision was not due to any move from the Presbyterians in England nor to any quarrel with the Welsh mother-church of Bethania, nor had

22. 5/6/75, 6. 23. See p. 32. 24. 5/6/75, 6.
25. 5/6/75, 8. 26. 11/9/75, 8.

he ever sought to take his congregation with him; they had made their own choice. His reasons, he said, were personal, domestic, temporal and spiritual. He also said the people of Trinity were willing to vacate the building and hand it back to the Connexion. Mr. Rosser also spoke and said it had not been a heart-rending process which led the congregation to its decision since few of the ninety-four members had Calvinistic Methodist roots but were former Anglicans, Wesleyans, Baptists and Plymouth Brethren, and he felt they were taking a wise step. Rev. T. Mortimer Green, an influential Connexional figure and minister of the English-speaking church at Newport, regretted the decision and the probable strain on relations with the Presbyterians in England: he thought the congregation was unwise as it would become an isolated outpost of English Presbyterianism with a slender prospect of survival and he advised the Connexion to secure the buildings since, in his opinion, Calvinistic Methodism would in the end have to undertake the foundation of an enduring English-speaking cause. However, Rev. William James of Bethania thought the Connexion should bow to the inevitable and recognise that there would be little scope for a further English-speaking cause, but Rev. David Evans of Merthyr Tydvil believed the need would arise and that the Connexion should secure the building. He also held that as time went on the seceding congregation would find it difficult to induce a successor to Evans to come from England or Scotland into the heart of Wales. Rev. Joseph Evans of Carmarthen thought that while Evans's decision had been the result of long pondering the congregation had acted hastily and would discover too late that they had surrendered their rights because they were entering a system where important decisions about the admission and suspension of members were made by a court consisting of ministers and elders; he advised the Connexion to secure the building since another English-speaking cause was almost certain to come into being.

The Presbyterian Church in England had sent Rev. J. C. Gullan on the difficult mission of "explaining in a friendly and respectful spirit" the Presbyterian attitude to the case. He acknowledged the blessing which had attended the work of the Connexion in Wales and said that the Aberdare affair had not been caused by any initiative from England but when the request came from Evans and his congregation it was decided to receive them as soon as their formal secession from the Connexion could be effected; he

added that this decision would not have been taken if it had been thought that the Connexion would proceed to found another English-speaking cause in Aberdare.[27]

Responsible criticism of the English Presbyterians was based on the mysterious fact that they had not consulted the Association before rushing to a decision which landed them in distasteful consequences and which they later regretted. *Y Goleuad*, however, felt that the Connexion had been given grounds for self-examination, if Evans felt it necessary for personal reasons to make the transfer and if he felt it had been impossible for him to provide an honourable support for his family then the Connexion had cause to be ashamed of its lack of vitality and of its poor support of its ministers.[28]

When the Association met in Crickhowell in October tempers were becoming frayed and a sharp letter was received from Evans stating that he and his congregation had been received the previous week by the Presbytery of Birmingham and that Mr. Rosser had been instructed to make a legal transfer of the building to the English Presbyterians. The Association refrained from debating the matter but appointed a committee to take the necessary steps to prevent the transfer of the building.[29]

On 6 November *Y Goleuad* carried a report of subsequent developments. On 18 October the Association committee sent a message to Aberdare of its intention to visit the church-meeting of Trinity on 28 October but the congregation refused to meet the committee, claiming that they now belonged to the Presbyterian Church in England. The committee asserted its right to visit because the legal transfer had not yet taken place. Evans thought to outwit the committee by changing the night of meeting but the committee had its informers in Aberdare and so was able to arrive at Trinity when the meeting was being held. Evans and his supporters were amazed and he closed the meeting and left the building and was followed by the majority of those present, about twelve in number. A small minority was averse to the whole affair and regretted the breach with the Connexion. Rev. David Edwards then claimed the property for the Connexion and said that if the minister and congregation wished to secede they could have done so in a peacable manner and have received the customary letters of disjunction. He entrusted the building to the care of one of the minority. Mr. Rosser, who with others had gathered around

27. 5/6/75, 6. 28. 12/6/75, 8. 29. 23/10/75, 4.

the door to watch what was going on inside, then entered and ordered the committee out; the committee left under protest but told the member to whom they had entrusted the building to remain there until turned out by force. Steps were also taken to lodge a Bill in Chancery in the name of one of the minority claiming that the building belonged to the Connexion.[30] The next issue of *Y Goleuad* reported that the committee had met a committee of the Presbyterian Church in England but no mutually acceptable solution had been reached. It seemed, however, that the seceders were becoming less sure of their right to the building. Mr. Rosser had suggested that the seceders should retain possession of the building for five years and then hand it over to the Connexion; this convinced the committee that he knew that his legal case was weak. It was true that he still held the deeds of the property which he had not yet transferred to the Connexion though the building had been completed for at least five years. The building was thus still in the hands of the congregation but subscribers had contributed to the building on the understanding that it would be a Connexional building, witness the inscribed stone on the front of the building which is still visible. Mr. Rosser had allowed the transfer of the deeds to tarry, probably not intentionally, but when the storm arose it meant there was some legal justification for the attempt to transfer the property to the Presbyterian Church in England. The committee therefore asserted that in intention and reality the building was Connexional property and that it ought to be handed over without delay, but as an act of grace the seceding congregation would be allowed to use the building for one year or even longer until alternative accommodation could be arranged. However, as a token of recognition of Connexional ownership the seceding congregation should pay an appropriate rent and pay for necessary repairs.

Meanwhile, the Presbytery of Birmingham asked for a fresh meeting with the committee but the committee would only agree to this if it was held prior to the service which was being arranged for the induction of Evans as minister of the Presbyterian Church in England in Aberdare. The Presbytery agreed to this but found that its representatives could not be assembled prior to the date fixed for the induction; the Presbytery said it would proceed with the induction but would make a statement at the service intimating that the holding of the service did not prejudge the ultimate

30. 6/11/75, 8.

ownership of the building. The committee protested against this plan but the service went ahead as planned and led to the distressing situation when representatives of the Association attended and at the end of the service one of them called all members of the congregation, especially those still loyal to the Connexion, to remain, and despite a proposal by a member of the Birmingham Presbytery to hold a church-meeting the Association representatives constituted a meeting with Alderman Phillips, J.P., of Swansea, in the Chair. Rev. David Edwards, who had borne a heavy responsibility in the whole affair, regretted the persistence of the Presbytery of Birmingham in the matter; he was supported by Rev. T. Rees of Merthyr. *Y Goleuad* reported that the English Presbyterians tried to answer but were as children in the hands of the Association representatives and were cut down to their proper proportions; so humiliated were they that the congregation felt mingled shame and pity for them. However, they would not concede the Connexion's claim and so the committee felt bound to make further preparations to take the case to Chancery so as to get a final decision.[31]

It was also clear that it would be a hollow victory to secure the property without having a congregation to use it and so the committee met the district meetings of Aberdare and Hirwaun to consider the start of a new English-speaking Calvinistic Methodist cause. Rev. David Edwards said a congregation's life was not bound up with a particular building and one of the fifteen Welsh-speaking churches in the area could provide a home for a new venture. A layman, Mr. D. Evans, Cardiff, thought no further time should be wasted in talks about union with the English Presbyterians; in any case, the whole Church was richer for the variety provided by every denomination. It was decided to go ahead with the formation of a new congregation.[32]

By the end of 1875 it was clear that the seceders were about to surrender the property, though they might have to be allowed to use it for another year; this would hamper the development of the new English-speaking Connexional cause but it was held that it would be worth enduring the inconvenience as a contribution to a peaceful settlement. On 1 January, 1876, the new cause was formed and opening services were held in Bethania vestry on 2 January.[33]

31. 18/11/75, 8. 32. 18/12/75, 11. 33. 18/12/75, 11; 22/1/76, 8.

At an Association meeting in Aberystwyth in February 1876 Rev. David Edwards reviewed the events already recorded and said that there were times when he felt it would have been better to let the seceders have the building and then appeal to the Connexion for funds to build a new edifice for an English-speaking Calvinistic Methodist cause, but legal advice was insistent that the premises rightly belonged to the Connexion, and at last this fact was penetrating into the minds of the seceders for he had just received a message from Rosser acknowledging the Connexion's claim but asking for the use of the building for one year at a rent of £40. Edwards left it to the Association to decide whether to seek for immediate possession or settle on the proposal by Rosser. The same committee was given power to act as it thought wise in changing circumstances. Edwards also reported on the new cause and said it had seventy-five members, including twenty from the former congregation; he regretted that the Association had not acted sooner as many more might have been reclaimed for the Connexion.[34] Mr. Lewis Griffith of Aberdare wrote to *Y Goleuad* in March saying that the new congregation was a happy and contented fellowship and had the sympathy of every denomination in Aberdare where the only rivalry was a rivalry to save souls.[35]

An appeal was now issued to the Connexion for a special collection to be made in all chapels on the last Sunday in May to provide funds to help the new cause and to enable it to meet the expenses which would be incurred when Trinity would be handed over to the Connexion in January 1877. Rev. David Saunders went to the April Association in the North at Ruthin in order to plead for a good response; he said at least £850 would be required to pay outstanding debts and cover necessary repairs but the problem would be solved if every congregation in the Connexion were to subscribe one guinea. This plea was supported by Rev. Owen Thomas who said he was surprised by the haste and lack of consultation on the part of the Presbyterian Church in England but both he and Thomas spoke in conciliatory tones. Some speeches from the floor of the Association must have been more inflammatory since *Y Goleuad* wondered if the proceedings had been worthy of the Connexion and thought that some speeches about the English Presbyterians would have been better left unuttered.[36] On 20 May *Y Goleuad* set forth a statesmanlike and conciliatory policy and exonerated the Presbyterian Church in

34. 26/2/76, 12. 35. 4/3/76, 4. 36. 15/4/76, 6-8.

England from all responsibility for fomenting the affair and urged that in the interest of future good relations all unpleasant memories should be buried and English Presbyterian representatives should be welcomed to Connexional courts.[37] At the June Association in Sirhowy Rev. David Edwards said the trouble was almost at an end and he was loudly cheered when he hoped that the English Presbyterian representatives to the forthcoming General Assembly in Swansea would be given a gracious welcome.[38] In fact, no representatives turned up at Swansea. Dr. Oswald Dykes wrote to say that he and Dr. Wright of Southampton had been appointed as representatives by the Synod of the Presbyterian Church in England. However, since the making of that appointment the Synod had combined with the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church in England to form the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of England and the new Synod decided that it would be "more advisable under present circumstances not to send delegates" but to ask the Moderator to send a letter expressing their desire to maintain close and friendly relations. Dr. Dykes added that the last Synod of the Presbyterian Church in England had passed a resolution repudiating any desire to do any wrong or to show any discourtesy to the Connexion; he and Dr. Wright would have expressed their "painful regret" that English Presbyterian behaviour in the "unfortunate Aberdare case" should have appeared unfriendly or hasty. The letter of the Moderator, Dr. Anderson, was also received and expressed "warm and brotherly relations with that great and influential denomination in the Principality whose doctrine and polity are so nearly identical with that of the Presbyterian Church of England." There was a warm response to the messages and a resolution was passed wishing every blessing for the Presbyterian Church of England and stating that whatever the faults of the Presbytery of Birmingham "we can and ought to forgive."[39] In 1878 at the General Assembly in Aberystwyth Dr. Wright appeared on behalf of the Presbyterian Church of England and said that his Church regretted the part they had played in the Aberdare affair and he hoped there would be no continuing ill-will but rather that they would come closer together and he looked forward to an agreement on the mutual eligibility of their ministers.[40]

Meanwhile subscriptions began to be given in response to the appeal for funds for the new English-speaking cause in Aberdare;

37. 20/5/76, 8. 38. 10/6/76, 7. 39. 1/7/76, 11. 40. 8/6/78, 8.

collections had been made and it was reported at the autumn Association in Cilgerran in October 1876 that £500 had been subscribed but between £900 and £1,000 would be needed to meet all expenses; as yet not half the churches in any county of Wales had subscribed.[41] At the spring meeting in Ystradyfodwg in 1877 it was reported that the reconstituted cause in Aberdare had between eighty and one hundred members with a Sunday school of almost three hundred and that £700 had been raised in response to the appeal.[42] *Y Goleuad* reported in 1879 that £745 7s. 10d. had been subscribed and there was still an outstanding debt of £239 12s. 3d.[43]

On 14 June, 1879, *Y Goleuad* reported that the Presbyterian Church of England congregation had completed the building of a new church which would be opened in a series of services stretching over a number of Sundays.[44] By now the two congregations had begun to settle down to co-existence and the initial bitterness began to ebb and Aberdare's affairs passed out of the headlines.[45] Nevertheless this episode left behind a certain wariness about the intentions of the English-speaking causes. In particular, there was some uneasiness about the formation of English Monthly Meetings or Presbyteries to include the English-speaking causes in Monmouth and Glamorgan, and some of the Welsh Monthly Meetings wished to absorb these English causes but they were in no mood to be absorbed since they did not feel at home in an organisation whose proceedings took place in Welsh and since they suspected that the main aim was to absorb only those congregations, such as Argyle in Swansea, which were financially strong and so would strengthen the resources of the Monthly Meetings.[46] Some alleged that the main aim of the Welsh Monthly Meetings was not to make the Connexion more efficient for its true work but to secure the property belonging to these causes and in view of the Aberdare affair this was not an unpardonable motive.[47]

41. 7/10/76, 6. 42. 31/3/77, 9. 43. 5/4/79, 12. 44. 14/6/79, 12.
45. To complete the story it may be noted that the Presbyterian Church of England congregation found it difficult to sustain its life in a Welsh valley. The presence in Trinity Church of ministers of the distinction of Rev. R. R. Roberts (1892-1901) and Rev. D. O. Calvin Thomas (1927-1938) made Trinity the natural focus of English-speaking Presbyterian life in Aberdare. There was a strange reversal of roles when despite protests from the small Presbyterian Church of England congregation in Aberdare the Presbytery of Bristol dissolved the congregation in 1952 but it is a pleasure to be able to record that there are still surviving members of that congregation who have found themselves welcome and at home in Trinity. 46. 26/2/75, 5. 47. 25/3/76, 5.

Rev. David Evans of Merthyr thought that this suspicion was groundless as every English chapel was in process of being transferred to the Connexion and he said the Monthly Meetings in Glamorgan and Monmouth could boast about the perfect order of their legal documents because no new ground had been broken by those bodies for many a long year and therefore there were no loose legal ends to tie up.[48] This elicited a venemous rejoinder which the Editor refused to print since among its milder aspersions it had said that Evans was King Evans of Merthyr and the upstart King of the English-speaking Presbytery of Glamorgan which was labelled "audacious and blundering."[49] Mr. T. Mortimer Green, one of the leading elders of the Connexion gave the calm advice that assimilation should not be rushed but should be allowed to take place naturally after a period of separate development.[50] Rev. David Edwards gave the same advice to the Llansamlet Association in 1878.[51]

Thus during the decade under examination the policy adopted by the Connexion on the advice of its most influential leaders was based on the assumption that the use of English was bound to expand and that the Connexion had a responsibility to bring the Gospel to the people in the language they understood. When Rev. Thomas James of Llanelli told the Association in the South in 1876 that he deplored the increasing use of English and the readiness of many to see the disappearance of Welsh he was taking a line unusual at the time.[52] The day had not yet dawned when campaigns were to be launched for the preservation and expansion of the use of Welsh. *Y Goleuad* expressed a common view that the passing of the language would be no ground for defeatism among Calvinistic Methodists.[53] It was, however, realised that the growth of English causes involved more than the mere translation of the traditional Welsh forms into English. *Y Goleuad* said that it was not enough to translate a sermon into English; the result would only be a shapeless, clumsy, Welshy sermon even if it were free from errors in grammar and punctuation; there had to be an English flavour about the sermon and this would require hard work by ministers in English causes who also would be likely to move about less frequently on Sundays and would therefore have to prepare more sermons.[54]

48. 25/3/76, 5.
49. 8/4/76, 8.
50. 12/5/77, 6.
51. 17/8/78, 4.
52. 7/10/76, 7.
53. 28/10/76, 8.
54. 24/5/79, 8.

Chapter VII.

CALVINISTIC METHODISM AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

In 1811 the formal secession of the Calvinistic Methodists took place when Calvinistic Methodist ministers were ordained at the Association in Bala. In the following decades there was much mutual recrimination between the Calvinistic Methodists and the Anglicans. Anglicans strove to defend their privileged position, and in return for the ensuing discomforts the Calvinistic Methodists embarked upon a vigorous campaign of self-justification; they asserted that the Anglicans had suppressed the Gospel, that non-conformists were unjustly victimised in the fields of civil rights and of education, and that the only solution was the disestablishment of the Church of England. This demand reached a new intensity in 1869 when the Church of Ireland was disestablished. The early issues of *Y Goleuad* reflected the current interest in the subject and its pages were enlivened for many weeks by a vigorous controversy between Rev. H. T. Edwards, the Vicar of Caernarvon, and Rev. T. C. Edwards, then minister of an English-speaking Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church in Liverpool and in 1872 to become the first Principal of the University College at Aberystwyth.

Rev. H. T. Edwards was an elder brother of A. G. Edwards who was to become the first Archbishop of Wales after disestablishment in 1920 and whose outlook and achievement is still a matter of controversy even among Anglicans.[1] The elder Edwards became Dean of Bangor in 1876. He was Vicar of Caernarvon at the time of his controversy in *Y Goleuad* and for the sake of clarity he will hereafter be referred to as the Vicar. He was a gifted writer, preacher, administrator and controversialist who could make his opponents wince. He was a convinced Anglican, a staunch supporter of Establishment, and a zealous defender of the claims of the Church of England in Wales to be the rightful heir of the early Celtic Church of St. David and the rightful holder of the ecclesiastical temporalities of the country. His position, whose main points were reiteratаed in many letters, can be easily summarised. Jesus Christ called the Apostles to be the custodians and heralds of His Gospel; they entrusted this commission to others who in turn handed it on to others; this

1. See Review by T. I. Ellis of *Sacrifice or Sacrilege?* by K. O. Morgan, in *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales*, XVII, (1967).

succession has been continued in the Church through the line of bishops duly consecrated. All proper ministers must receive their orders from a bishop, and outside such a ministry there can be no reliable preaching of the Word and no proper administration of the Sacraments. In Wales, this Church and ministry were to be found in the Anglican Establishment. The Church of Rome was an alien intruder and the non-conformists were rebellious children who ought to return to the fold.

This was the basis of his argument in a letter which he wrote to Gladstone on 22 January, 1870. He never doubted the claims he made on behalf of his Church, but he could also be an unsparing critic of the way in which the Church had been treated by the authorities in London. The national characteristics and the language of the people had been scorned; their language had recently been branded as a "barbarous language, more like the cries of brute beasts than the speech of reasonable men."[2] The Church had come to be regarded as the auxiliary of the Anglicised and Anglicising nobility while her highest offices had for the previous one hundred and sixty years been filled by clergy who were alien in race and ignorant of the language and traditions of the majority of the people; the bishops and clergy were "avowed agents of a policy of selfishness."[3] In the face of this the Vicar admitted that the growth and popularity of non-conformity was understandable and he allowed that there were many fine qualities to be discerned among the non-conformists. Here were a people in earnest, eager for education, eager to receive the ministrations of their great preachers, eager to worship God in their native tongue, and justifiably alienated from a church which, in its aims, personnel and language, was inimical to their ingrained loyalties. Nevertheless, understandable as was the rise of non-conformity, it was, in the Vicar's opinion, a warped and erroneous growth and he balanced his favourable remarks by acid aspersions upon the quality of non-conformity as it had developed. There was no doctrinal reason for separation, since such truth as the non-conformists taught was also taught in the Church but there was among the non-conformists "the utmost ignorance concerning systems of dogmatic teaching.[4] They had no effective convictions nor had they any conception of the higher mysteries of sacramental grace nor of the sacramental authority derived by ministers

2. Edwards, H. T., "The Church of the Cymry" in *Wales and the Welsh Church*, p. 21. 3. *Ibid.*, p. 101, 135. 4. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

from the apostolic lineage; hence they degenerated into a Babel of rival sects and their enthusiastic faith was "now running wild in the spiritual anarchy of religious dissensions."[5] and the movement inaugurated by Howell Harris and his followers had "degenerated into the assertion of a lawless spiritual individualism,[6] and non-conformist assertions of "a unity of spirit underlying the endless variety of their organic forms" were an imaginary claim.[7] As for the leaders of non-conformity, though they were greatly gifted and impassioned preachers, they were men of scanty knowledge, narrow experience, strong feelings, and violent prejudices.[8] Secession from the Church was thus not only a grave error but it had produced an evil harvest. The first step towards recovery was for the Church to be set in order and to become a Church staffed by clergy concerned for the people, drawn from the people, sharing their language and resident among them.

This letter may have been one of the factors which led Gladstone to nominate Joshua Hughes in that year, 1870, to the bishopric of St. Asaph. Hughes was a graduate of Lampeter and his whole experience had been as a parish priest. There were some criticisms of his appointment on the ground that he had no proper university education at Oxford or Cambridge, and that his experience was too limited, but the late Bishop Havard counted the appointment a great success; he had such a love for Wales, her people, her language and her traditions that he won the respect of all, including the non-conformists.[9] When this appointment was made, the Vicar made speeches declaring that a new day had dawned and reform was on the way, there was no longer any reason for the continued existence of non-conformity; whatever justification there had been for separation in the past it was so no longer and it would be sinful to continue in separation. It was this challenge which drew forth a sharp reply in *Y Goleuad*.[10] A leading article appeared in the issue of 9 April, 1870, in which the Vicar's letter to Gladstone was carefully analysed. The writer expressed agreement with the Vicar's assessment of the damage done to Christianity in Wales by bishops who had no Welsh blood in their veins and no Welsh language on their lips. Indeed, the early Methodists were eager to stimulate the Church; they were repulsed by the frigidity of the bishops and later generations of Calvinistic Methodists would not

5. *Ibid.*, p. 111. 6. *Ibid.*, p. 145. 7. *Ibid.*, p. 152
8. *Ibid.*, p. 154. 9. See Article on Hughes in *YBC*. 10. 9/4/70, 8

have left the old hearth if they had not been pushed out by bishops who had no grasp of the convictions which had laid hold of the Methodists. The Vicar, according to the writer, could at least claim the prize for new ideas when he stated that the non-conformists were spiritually impoverished and cut off from the objective realities of the faith. Such a view was a novelty based on romantic imagination rather than on wide-ranging and erudite scholarship. The valleys of Wales had been filled for at least half a century with sermons and with discussions in Sunday schools on the current controversies about baptism, the Eucharist, the Atonement, and the Apostolic succession. Admittedly the Vicar had been to Oxford, but there was no need to expand what Oxford meant by 'divinity' nor to point out how every beardless ordinand was considered to be enough of a divine to pronounce anathema on all who refused to follow Pusey's teaching on regeneration through baptism. If the Vicar were to examine the facts for a change he would find that the young preachers of the Calvinistic Methodists had to pass examinations on Scripture and Theology which few candidates for Anglican orders could pass. The preaching of Harris and Rowland, the hymns of Williams and Anne Griffiths, the teaching of Charles, and the oratory of John Elias and Henry Rees were shaped by the writings of Luther, Melanchthon, Calvin, Bullinger, Witsius, Cocceius and Owen.[11]

The first salvoes in a lengthy and often repetitive controversy had been fired and the Vicar realised that his adversary was a man of no mean ability. He probably suspected that the writer of the leading article was none other than T. C. Edwards; in his first reply, the Vicar referred to Edwards and called him "one of the ablest men among the Methodists, and indeed among my fellow-countrymen."[12] By flattery and by direct challenge to come out of "the fog of anonymity" he forced the writer to break cover when he was seen to be none other than T. C. Edwards.[13]

Edwards' replies ranged over a wide field and dealt with the Vicar's points but his basic argument was that the main tenet of Protestantism was the right of private judgment by the individual who was in the presence of God and was responsible for his own decisions. At some point the decisive judgment had to be given. The individual decided either to accept what the

11. 9/4/70, 8. 12. 16/4/70, 11. 13. 23/4/70, 11.

Church taught or that what the Church taught was right.[14] Moreover, what did the Church teach? Was it what was taught in the early centuries? Or was it what was taught by the growing High-Church party in the Church of England? Here were issues on which the individual had to make decisions. Again, if secession from the Church was wrong, should not the Church of England return in penitence to the Church of Rome?[15]

Edwards also disagreed with the Vicar's claim that the priesthood in the Church in no way infringed the unique priesthood of Christ.[16] The Vicar had claimed that the title of Teacher, Preacher and Pastor, used by non-conformist ministers, could be open to the same objection, but Edwards said that the Apostle Paul had stated that Christ had given Evangelists and Teachers and Pastors, but not Priests, to the Church.[17] The New Testament, when it referred to a priesthood apart from Christ's, was dealing with the priesthood of every believer; this involved the individual's full and responsible decision. "The truth is that as every member realises his individuality he becomes a better member of the Church." Protestants took the idea of the Body seriously and thought of it as an entity, every part of which is filled by the Holy Spirit; the Vicar and those who thought like him thought in terms of formal external bonds such as an apostolic succession through Bishops. It was the sectarian and party policy which Edwards discerned in the High-Church movement which was the menace to a proper churchmanship which respected the individual.[18] Moreover, the Vicar's attempt to distinguish between personal matters in which the individual has a power to decide and ecclesiastical matters which are to be accepted on the authority of the Church did not stand up to investigation; ecclesiastical matters became ecclesiastical by the decision of councils made up of men who had to decide according to what they thought to be right.[19] Members of the Church could accept an ecclesiastical verdict but they had also to decide in their own minds whether they thought the decision to be right. A minority were still entitled to think the majority was wrong. When this touched a matter of conscience there could arise the need to refuse to conform.[20] Edwards held that although the early Calvinistic Methodists had been unwilling non-con-

14. 7/5/70, 5; 21/5/70, 4.
15. 21/5/70, 4.
16. 23/4/70, 11; 7/5/70, 5.
17. 7/5/70, 5; 21/5/70, 4.
18. 23/4/70, 11; 21/5/70, 4; 4/6/70, 4.
19. 21/5/70, 4.
20. 21/5/70, 4.

formists it would now be impossible for the present Calvinistic Methodists to return to the Church of England as it then was; this would be a betrayal of the Fathers and would be as impossible as it would be for the Church of England to ask forgiveness for the Reformation.[21]

Edwards summed up his challenge in three questions which he addressed to the Vicar. Did he hold that a member of the Church of Rome should remain in that Church even if he were to be convinced that some of its basic teaching was false? Did he deny that freedom of conscience was a central point of Protestantism? Did he consider himself a Protestant or not?[22]

The Vicar in his replies refused to be impaled upon the horns of the dilemmas arranged by Edwards. He did not admit that there was an antithesis between individualism and Church authority; it was conformity to the laws of the social body which made for the health of each member of society and so it was in the body of the Church.[23] He did not admit that by accepting the theology of the Church he was degrading his own integrity; he made the theology of the Church his own. He did not admit that the ministry of the Church's priests infringed the Priesthood of Christ; they were the instrument through which He exercised His mediatorial work. He did not admit that the High Church party was leading a drift to Rome; it was men such as Edwards' father, Dr. Lewis Edwards, who sympathised with Cardinal Cullen of Armagh and with the Irish Roman Catholics and who supported the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, who were in the end going to undermine the Reformation; instead of being falsely accused of a Romeward trend, the Church ought to be seen as the main bastion against Roman Catholic ambitions.[24] Nor did the Vicar concede the primacy of the rights of the individual; by encouraging breaches of the spiritual law of ecclesiastical unity the non-conformists were paving the way for a similar policy in the State when robbers, murderers and rioters would be able to plead that any punishment by the State would be an annihilation of their personal liberty. He did not grant that non-conformists had nurtured a paradise rich with spiritual giants; they had no standards of judgment beyond the vociferous oratory which attained the height of preaching at the Sasiwn and

21. 18/6/70, 3; 13/8/70, 9.
22. 18/6/70, 3.
23. 7/5/70, 5; 2/7/70, 5; 10/9/70, 5.
24. 7/5/70, 5; 14/5/70, 4; 30/7/70, 4.

gained a reputation among ignorant Methodists, but Edwards was "a learned man and should know what is the truth"; for every giant nurtured among the non-conformists twenty had been nurtured in the Church.[25] Nor did the Vicar admit that the non-conformists had a unity of aim in a genuine pursuit of the things of the spirit; "Do you think my eyes are shut as I walk through the villages of Wales, every one of which has been split by your religious parties and poisoned by strife and envy and where you seek to outdo each other in your buildings and as a result you are overburdened with debt and your ministers living near starvation level?; the only link which binds you is a yearning for the blowing of the radical trumpet which will summon you to the despoiling of the Church and the possession of her resources."[26] Over against this confusion stood the Church with the right to teach, and non-conformists had nothing to lose by returning to the fold. This would have been the wish of the most notable Methodist leader, Daniel Rowland, who was a minister of the Church and whose grandson was ordained by the Bishop of St. Asaph on the same day as the Vicar himself. Moreover, the non-conformists ought not to be misled by the teaching of Thomas Charles, who, though a gifted and hard-working teacher, had broken the apostolic succession and had disqualified himself from giving sound advice.[27] The Vicar also refused to believe claims made concerning the self-sacrifice of Calvinistic Methodist ministers; he admitted that Edwards himself could easily have had richer prospects in other fields, but, poorly supported as many ministers were, nine out of ten of them gained financially and socially by entering the ministry, while, on the other hand, the clergy had had to spend hundreds on their education and in other professions could have secured ampler emoluments than the £120 annually which was the income of ten thousand of the clergy in the Church of England.[28] In spite of weaknesses, it was the Church, in the Vicar's view, which had the sole right to represent Christianity in Wales; the Church retained the fulness and balance of the faith as taught in the Bible, in the early centuries and in the Book of Common Prayer; "If you can convince me that the Church is deceitful in its teaching, then I would have to leave the fold."[29]

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25. 7/5/70, 4. 26. 14/5/70, 4. 27. 30/7/70, 4.
28. 30/7/70, 4. 29. 2/7/70, 5; 10/9/70, 5.

The Editor remained on the sidelines during the controversy apart from a leading article in the issue of 6 August in which he referred to the great social privileges enjoyed by the clergy; "If a number of the parochial notabilities go on a picnic, the clergyman and his lady are sure to get an invitation"; moreover, while it was true that the starting salary of ten thousand clergy was £120, many were on the way to richer rewards, but, in any case, £120 was sufficient reward for all the work which they did.[30] On 3 September the Editor ruled that both the Vicar and Edwards had been given sufficient space to air their views but he would allow each of them to write one more letter to wind up their case.[31]

The Vicar's intended final salvo appeared on 10 September and he reiterated his insistence that full spiritual privileges could only be enjoyed in the Church to which all ought to return; the popularity of non-conformist chapels was no proof of their approval by God who, according to His promise, was present with the two or three gathered in the parish church. He claimed to discern signs that Edwards was at heart a Churchman but was held back by the chains of custom and of social and family connection from taking the step he ought to take.[32]

Edwards replied on 24 September but his reply was divided by the editor into two parts, the second of which appeared the following week. The Vicar not unreasonably felt aggrieved that Edwards had thus by an editorial device got the publicity accruing to two appearances in print. Edwards' reply added nothing substantial to the argument. He admitted that there was a place for Church authority and that it ought not to be resisted unless the divine will was being basically flouted. That authority could be exercised through a monarchal episcopate, an aristocratic presbytery or a popular independency, but there was no guarantee of infallibility and a study of the history of the Church gave no ground for such a belief. Also, the claim to freedom of judgment was not a basis for claiming freedom to believe folly; the astronomer is free to observe the stars but he does not make them. Human freedom involves a grasping of God who is already the ultimate reality. "If the incarnation is not a genuine revelation to the mind of man of that which is God, then it is a revelation of what is not God.[33]

30. 6/8/70, 9. 31. 3/9/70, 9. 32. 10/9/70, 5.
33. 24/9/70, 8.

These salvoes were followed by some desultory sniping.[34] In a private letter to Edwards the Vicar complained about the editorial policy in cutting short the controversy which gave the impression that he could not reply; "I decline to address any further communications to that paper." Edwards replied and said the controversy had to end sometime and he denied that the Vicar had been unjustly treated; he had also heard that the Vicar intended to publish his letters but Edwards felt that in fairness the whole controversy ought to be published. The Vicar replied that he would not accept Edwards' reading of events "save at the command of some higher authority than that of your private judgment," and he refused absolutely to publish Edwards' letters along with his own since that would make him responsible for disseminating opinions "which I honestly believe to be false and pernicious."

Throughout the rest of his life the Vicar never wavered in his belief that the separate existence of Calvinistic Methodism was no longer justified but he was equally insistent that his fellow-Anglicans had not learned the lessons they ought to have learned from the secession of the Calvinistic Methodists, and he told them so in no uncertain terms when he addressed a Church Congress in Croydon in 1877. His speech on that occasion won the respect of *Y Goleuad* for its attempt to show the reasons for the rise of non-conformity and to give credit to non-conformity for its work in preserving the Welsh language.[35] He also admitted that the non-conformists in Wales were in a majority but claimed that the Church of England was larger than any single denomination and was winning back some who had drifted to dissent. *Y Goleuad* claimed that this was far from true if the vital figure of the numbers attending public worship was examined and not just a figure of nominal membership. The Vicar, who by now had become Dean, had also spoken of the provision of 1,000 church schools as a measure of the Church's generous provision for the people of Wales but *Y Goleuad* placed against this the £154,000 raised by Calvinistic Methodists for religious purposes and for the building of chapels in 1876 and as a result of which the vast work of the Sunday schools was enabled to flourish. The Dean had also admitted the great educational work carried out by the non-conformists in their various journals; he said he had reported to the Archbishop of Canterbury that the Welsh

34. 5/11/70, 6.

35. 20/10/77, 8.

press was largely in the hands of those noted for their hostility to the Church. The Church had one weekly paper and two monthly journals but the non-conformists had eleven weeklies and sixteen monthlies, though only one weekly and two monthlies were under the control of the Connexion. The Dean told the Congress that the previous policy of the Church and the conduct of its bishops had not encouraged the people to see the Church as the true Apostolic Church; while non-conformists had been self-sacrificially itinerating around the country the bishopric of Bangor paid £22,204 to its twelve leading clergy and £20,295 to the parochial clergy, and the bishopric of St. Asaph had paid £27,100 to six non-Welsh-speaking dignitaries and £18,391 to the parochial clergy. *Y Goleuad* admitted the courage of the Dean in making these admissions though it had less regard for his convictions that if the non-conformists had been less tenacious of their language the process of Anglicisation would have progressed and a national unity would have been achieved through the use of English, but, as *Y Goleuad* pointed out, the domination of the English language in Scotland and in Ireland had not led to a growth of loyalty to the Church of England.[36] At the Church Congress in Swansea in 1879 he again spoke of the distorted image presented by the Church and asserted that if only the Church would "show my countrymen the Church in all her radiance they would see the meanness of sectarianism."[37]

Reviewing this controversy between the Dean and the Principal after almost a century it is clear that many of the issues are no longer alive but it reflected the denominational tension which was then evident at all levels of life. The majority of members of local councils were Anglicans and they were therefore able to control the fixing of rates which included the Church Tax. Non-conformists were thus compelled to pay to support the Anglican Church as well as paying for the upkeep of their own denominational property and ministry. Human nature being what it is, it is not surprising that Anglicans used their power in ways which served to aggravate the situation. At St. Asaph this power had been used to increase the Church Tax by twopence in the pound so as to bring in an extra revenue of £25. *Y Goleuad* remarked that it was folly to impose so provocative a tax to raise so small a sum which the Church people could easily have raised among themselves but "those whom the gods intend to destroy they

36. 27/10/77, 8; 23/6/77, 12. 37. 25/10/79. 8.

first drive mad."[38] Such events increased the cry for disestablishment, which would in fact awaken the Church of England to be a true Church. At a meeting in Bala in 1875 Lewis Edwards said that in advocating disestablishment he was not against episcopacy or against those who wished to retain that system: all citizens had a right to choose their own form of church government; the objectionable feature was the institutional and social privileges accruing to an established Church. Anglicans, said Edwards, feared the loss of these privileges but their Church was more successful in North America where it had none of these privileges. Other speakers at the same meeting stressed that the aim of the campaign was not to close or disband the parish churches but to gain relief from discrimination against non-conformists. Mr. Carvell Williams was present from London as the representative of the Society for Disestablishment and said that much had already been gained and he held that disestablishment would actually benefit the Church of England as it had already benefitted the Church of Ireland, and since the Church of England would not disestablish itself outsiders had to undertake the task of its liberation. Rev. Evan Jones, the editor of *Y Goleuad*, also spoke and displayed all his gifts of dry and mordant wit; he prefaced his speech with a self-deprecatory remark about his fitness to come to Bala where in that Athens of Wales he would have to face the host of students who were the cream of the Principality; he then said that many wondered why it was necessary to make such an upheaval and agitation about disestablishment but, when people began to think, there were always upheavals, as was to be seen in the realms of science and engineering; so the thought of religious freedom, which was a new and vital concern, was bound to have ramifications, especially in Wales where the vast majority of people had ceased to frequent the parish churches.[39] *Y Goleuad* reiterated that the episcopal hostility to men such as Wroth, Erbury and Cradoc in the seventeenth century, the continuing scandal of the government of the Church of England in Wales by English nominees, and the social pretensions and priestly spirit of the Clergy of all ranks, rendered the Church of England unfit to be an official organ of the religion of Christ; the non-conformists were supplying the real need of Wales for a ministry of the Word, and for the provision of Sunday schools and Christian literature.[40]

38. 30/4/70, 11. 39. 27/3/75, 11; cf. 22/4/76, 14; 24/3/77, 9.
40. 27/11/75, 8; 4/3/76, 8.

The pages of *Y Goleuad* carried many reports of more meetings in support of disestablishment;[41] a meeting at Caernarvon was addressed by two notable English non-conformists, Rev. J. Guiness Rogers from London and Mr. R. W. Dale of Birmingham, and Dean Edwards of Bangor attended with the Vicar of Caernarvon, and according to *Y Goleuad,* they tried to appear as if they were enjoying themselves but their frequent grimaces revealed that they were in a hot spot.[42]

Moreover, there were not lacking clergymen and laymen who made inflammatory remarks calculated to arouse sharp rejoinders. In 1871 *The North Wales Chronicle* reported an Anglican gathering of clergy and laity in Bangor under the chairmanship of Lond Penrhyn; one nobleman, while admitting the failures of many clergymen in their public duties, said that non-conformist ministers owed their success to the fact that they told their people what they wanted to hear and what was congenial to their carnality. *Y Goleuad* noted that, false as such statements were, the warmth with which they were received showed that such misrepresentations of non-conformist ministers were commonly believed in Anglican circles.[43] In 1872 a report appeared of the statement of a clergyman who had said that a recent preaching meeting at an Association was like a Derby day; *Y Goleuad* said it was surprising that such a remark should have been made by a clergyman who was well respected; he must have been suffering from some mental aberration when he made such a baseless allegation; the occasion to which he referred had passed off in quietness and the general improvement in social conduct under the influence of the religious movements in Wales was in marked contrast to the situation in Ireland where Irishmen had recently been splitting each other's heads in party strife.[44] The Bishop of St. Asaph drew sharp reactions when he claimed that the Church of England, if fully matured, could excel any Church since the Reformation; *Y Goleuad* thought this was an impracticable hypothesis since only one quarter of the people of Wales were under her care and there was no likelihood of a great return to the fold; the few who had done so had not done so for religious reasons, and the secession to Anglicanism of some young men from the small labouring classes of Cardiganshire was due to the lure of Lampeter where they had success

41. 16/12/76, 12; 24/3/77, 14.
42. 30/9/76, 8. 43. 25/7/71, 9. 44. 7/8/72, 8.

with no competition; instead of renewing its strength through new accessions, the Church of England was in real danger of being denuded through secessions to the Church of Rome such as the recent secession of the Marquis of Bute.[45] The Bishop also drew further protests when he lamented that thousands of people in Manchester were without a pastor to tend them; it was pointed out that he had quite forgotten that there were many non-conformist chapels provided for this purpose, including four Calvinistic Methodist places of worship.[46]

In many ways the Bishop of St. Asaph was a disappointment to non-conformists; he had many qualities which they admired; he was a Welshman with a Welsh background and experience and was regarded as a man of fine personal character but his defence of the status and mission of the Church of England could not be counted by non-conformists as one of his virtues, though it is difficult to see what else he could have done in the office and circumstances in which he was placed. Much less was expected of Dr. Basil Jones who was appointed Bishop of St. Davids in 1874 and whose Welsh descent was not in doubt but whose whole experience had been gained outside Wales and who was reputed to be unable to preach, write or converse in Welsh.[47] In fact he proved to be a gifted and zealous bishop, and though his Welsh was not fluent he had a wide knowledge of the history and traditions of Wales.

Secession to the Church of England caused much uneasiness. *Y Goleuad* admitted that many who had seceded and entered the ministry of the Church of England had done so to secure scope for work and a reasonable income and to escape from the idleness and insecurity to which ministers were often reduced among the Calvinistic Methodists. Such an admission drew several sharp rebuttals which, if extreme and highly-coloured, made entertaining reading; one said that the editorial charity was totally misplaced since the only possible motives for secession were wages and social status, and men moved by such motives were no loss to the Connexion; it was false to claim that Anglicanism provided greater scope since nine tenths of the people of Wales regarded the privileged position of the Church of England as an injustice, a monstrous oppression upon conscientious convictions, an unbearable obstacle to the work of spiritual religion; further, when attention was paid to the blasphemous dogmatism of her priests

45. 21/9/72, 8. 46. 29/3/73, 8. 47. 18/7/74, 2.

who claimed to be the only authorised missionaries of Christ and who claimed that the inheritance of eternal life could only be assured within her fold then it was impossible to believe that any Calvinistic Methodist could have seceded in the belief that he would get wider scope in the Church of England.[48]

Y Goleuad was particularly incensed at the reaction of the Church of England magazine to an announcement in the columns of *Y Goleuad* of a generous benefaction to a Calvinistic Methodist chapel; the magazine had praised the generosity of the donor but then deduced therefrom that Calvinistic Methodists could afford to allow the Church of England to enjoy its endowments from the past and ought therefore to call off the campaign for disestablishment and disendowment. *Y Goleuad* thought this a very obtuse view since it ignored the minority position of the Established Church which thus had no longer any claim to the assets of a national Church, and it also ignored the temptations arising from the possession of the privileges of establishment; it was also indefensible that a clergyman who read the lessons and gave a brief homily to a dozen parishoners should have a privileged position in the parish. However, change would not come about by arguing with the Anglicans since, in the opinion of *Y Goleuad*, to confront Anglicans with the obvious facts was like pouring water on a duck's back.[49]

The protestations of disgust at Anglican privilege were probably in some degree indications of a continuing uneasiness of conscience over the secession in 1811. Quite a controversy arose when the Bishop of St. Asaph was reported to have said that Thomas Charles had regretted his actions in 1811 and had even planned to return to the Church of England.[50] There were several who supported the Bishop and said that his statement was based on evidence contained in Johnes' *Causes of Dissent in Wales* where it was said that Charles was much troubled by what he had done in 1811 when under pressure he had taken a step which would have been distasteful to Daniel Rowland who had charged his son, Nathanael, never to leave the Church of England.[51] Another view was that Charles had opposed the ordination plan when it was first mooted but after the deed was done he became convinced of its necessity and did not regret what he had done.[52]

It was almost inevitable that Lewis Edwards should be drawn

48. 22/2/73, 4. 49. 2/3/78, 8. 50. 11/5/78, 4.
51. 18/5/78, 4. 52. 25/5/78, 4.

into the debate and he said he did not accuse the Bishop of any unkind feelings towards the Connexion nor was his own respect for the Bishop diminished; the Bishop had only repeated a common rumour which Calvinistic Methodists had not hitherto bothered to contradict. Edwards agreed that the report had its origins in Johnes' book but Johnes had not said that Charles had repented of what he had done but had said that there was room for regret that it had to be done; there was sounder evidence in the witness of Thomas Jones of Denbigh which was based on a long personal acquaintance. Jones said that Charles had for years resisted the move but by 1810 had become convinced of the need to make the break and was content with what was done in 1811. Dr. David Charles, a grandson of Thomas Charles, backed up Edwards in even stronger terms.[53] However, not everyone was convinced by this defence since, as several pointed out, Jones was an interested party whose own action in administering the sacrament without ordination had virtually forced Charles into the 1811 decisions.[54] One writer even claimed that after 1811 Charles had suffered from insomnia and a general decline in health which led to an early death at the age of fifty-nine.[55] This argument is scarcely conclusive since fifty-nine at that period was not an unduly brief span of life. *Y Goleuad* reviewed the evidence and said that Johnes' evidence could not be conclusive, coming as it did from years after the event and having no support from Charles' relatives; the evidence was cumulative that he had not repented.[56]

Nevertheless, one of the sorest points among several writers was the extent to which some non-conformists still hankered after the fleshpots of Egypt and sought to compromise their dissent in the interest of social standing. One writer wrote at length in several instalments on the inconsistencies of non-conformists who seemed at heart to be at home in the Church of England. Some non-conformists, and particularly Calvinistic Methodists, still persisted in going to the parish churches to be married, though the law had provided facilities for marriages to take place in chapels. Others upheld the custom whereby bereaved families went to the parish church on the first Sunday after the burial of a relative though they and the deceased were members of the chapel; they showed in so doing that their aim was not to worship

53. 25/5/78, 12. 54. 1/6/78, 4: Jones, F. P., *Thomas Jones o Ddinbuch*.
55. 18/7/78, 4. 56. 8/6/78, 10; 6/7/78, 8.

God but to conform to custom. Others still sent their children to Church schools even where a British school was more accessible and they were thus at fault in submitting their children to the teaching of the parson to which they would not submit themselves on a Sunday.[57] Others still showed a respect for the parish church which they did not show to their own chapel and would remove their hats before entering the church while they would keep their hats on in chapel until they had reached their own seats and would put them on again before leaving the seat.[58] Little wonder, said the writer, that churchmen called chapels conventicles when non-conformists themselves showed them such scant respect.[59] Rev. Owen Thomas said that though he himself did not attach any weight to episcopal consecration of a building there was still a residual feeling in the Connexion that the old parish churches were worthy of a respect which was not given to chapels, but he did think there was a respect due to any building used for the worship of God.[60] It was also admitted that chapels, though increasingly ornate and costly, were often not conducive to worship and did not suggest the world that was spiritual and invisible.[61] Another complaint was that the clergyman was still saluted and addressed as "Sir" while ministers, apart from a few notabilities of the pulpit. were addressed by their Christian names. At funerals, some non-conformist families would provide the clergyman with a silk mourning-band for his hat but would provide none for their own minister.[62] Further, some non-conformists would vote for a Tory churchman at elections even when the Liberal candidate was the better man.[63] A correspondent from Aberystwyth was irate because some Calvinistic Methodist elders were actually supporting Tory candidates who had openly avowed that their aim was to advance their own party and to deprive non-conformists of all power in the affairs of the town; this was all the more reprehensible when a worthy Calvinistic Methodist was also standing as a candidate; the Calvinistic Methodists of Aberystwyth were a strange people.[64]

Some non-conformists, even elders, were accused of conniving at, if they did not actually encourage, the entry of their sons into the ministry of the Church of England; such officers were a source of weakness.[65] The ashes of this particular con-

57. See p. 152. 58. See p. 44. 59. 28/8/73, 4; 19/9/74, 8.
60. 12/9/74, 12. 61. 13/9/73, 3. 62. 30/8/73, 3.
63. 6/9/73, 3. See p. 163.
64. 5/11/79, 5: "Nis gwn yn y byd beth i feddwl o Fethodistiaid Aberystwyth; maent yn bobl ryfedd iawn." 65. 20/9/73, 3.

troversy were raked over when the Bishop of Llandaff said in 1878 that several non-conformist ministers had applied to him for ordination, but *Y Goleuad* said that the Bishop had given no details of name, number or denomination; it was true that some sons of elders had entered the ministry of the Church of England and had reached such a degree of assurance that they would not hesitate to shut their parents out of the Church as heretics but this was not the same as a secession of ministers; if the Bishop's statement was true it must mean that many ministers in Glamorgan, Monmouth and Brecon had become convinced of the errors of non-conformity and of the truth of such doctrines as the Apostolic succession and had approached the Bishop for ordination; the secession of a few nobodies would not justify the Bishop's statement nor would the occasional secession of a minister who felt he could not sustain the demand for high-quality preaching and so was content to go to a denomination where the parson's work was to persuade his parishoners to attend church or at least stay away from chapel; the parson had plenty of time for this seeing he was not required to spend time in pulpit preparation, though it had to be granted that the Church of England had a few powerful preachers.[66] Another observation was that some were drawn into the Church of England because they chose to marry one of the daughters of the Philistines.[67]

Even if there were many who deplored the tendency to retain respect for the Church of England there were few who showed no interest at all in what was happening within the Church of England. There was intense interest and disquiet over the growth of the Oxford Movement which by 1870 was manifesting itself in ritualistic tendencies which were abhorrent to *Y Goleuad*. This trend was specially deplorable because if it continued to intensify and if disestablishment were to take place it would mean that the Church of England, released from State control, would become more and more High Church in complexion and thus the non-conformists would be made to appear the instrument of that transformation which would have taken place as a result of the disestablishment for which non-conformists had agitated. *Y Goleuad* reported and commented at length on signs of this trend. It reported a speech by the Archbishop of Canterbury, A. C. Tait, in which he had rebuked clergy who mumbled prayers to Mary and the saints and had added that they were wise to mumble

66. 11/10/79, 8. 67. 27/10/77, 8.

them as Roman Catholics did for if the people heard them they would walk out; however much the clergy were infected by Romanising tendencies the people had not been significantly infected.[68] *Y Goleuad* was also seriously perturbed about Anglicans who denied the Protestant character of the Church of England, of the Thirty-nine Articles and of the Homilies, and who claimed that such denial did not disqualify them from remaining in the Church of England.[69] Rev. Owen Thomas told an Association at Mold that many Church of England clergy had almost completely forsaken the great truths of the Protestant Reformation and had replaced the stress on the need for a change of heart by an emphasis on baptism.[70]

Y Goleuad believed that the Romeward trend in the Church of England was accelerating year by year and it was difficult to distinguish Anglican ritualists from those in the Church of Rome. An Anglican sisterhood had been founded at Clewer in the diocese of Oxford in 1851 and when some of the sisters visited Wales in 1874 one writer saw this as an infiltration of female Jesuits.[71] It was also stated that some of the Welsh clergy were members of a very High Church group, the Society of the Holy Cross, a society which still exists and in 1968 declared the proposed reconciliation of the Anglican and Methodist Churches to be a betrayal of the Catholic position of the Church of England.[72] Among the Welsh members of this society was the Rector of Dolgellau who was said to be a notorious ritualist and had organised two Retreats at Dolgellau.[73]

Y Goleuad reported that some members of the Church of England had such a distaste for the Reformation that when Archbishop Tait spoke at a Church Congress in Croydon in 1877 and referred to the Church of England as the same grand old historical Church which had come down to them from the Reformation the very mention of the Reformation evoked shouts of disapproval; the Archbishop, however, had not given any indication that he was going to take any steps to uphold the Reformed character of the Church of England.[74] The trend was evident even in the Church of Ireland, hitherto generally regarded as more Protestant in outlook than the Church of England, but

68. 16/5/74, 8. 69. 23/10/75, 8; 5/8/76, 9. 70. 9/12/76, 5.
71. 8/8/74, 3; See Chadwick, O., *The Victorian Church*, Pt. I, pp. 508 and 511.
72. *Church Times*, 24/5/1968, 1. 73. 10/11/77, 9. 74. 27/10/77, 8.

recently a Retreat had been held in Ireland and though it was disowned by the Church's Synod there were rumours that Archbishop Trench of Dublin opposed the resolution of the Synod. When the first Lambeth Conference met in 1878 *Y Goleuad* examined its encyclical and remarked that though the Conference had no legislative power its message seemed to indicate that anti-Protestant views had made headway among the bishops.[75] *Y Goleuad* also disapproved of recent attempts within Anglicanism to show that John Wesley was a High Churchman who considered the ministry to be a priesthood for which the Apostolic succession was essential and then to make this a pretext for remaining aloof from the heirs of Wesley and of Thomas Charles whose churches they regarded as little better than clubs outside the Church of Christ; the High Church party would crush Low Churchmen out of the Church of England if it had the power.[76] Rev. N. Cynhafal Jones told the Assocation in Denbigh in 1879 that four hundred ritualists among the clergy as well as many of the nobility, particularly ladies, had gone over to the Church of Rome.[77]

A Church Congress was held in Swansea in 1879; it was the first to be held in Wales and the visit of Archbishop Tait to the Congress was the first archiepiscopal visit to South Wales for five hundred years. *The Church Times* had claimed that the Congress had shown that party strife in the Church of England was on the wane; moreover, the welcome given to the Congress in a non-conformist stronghold was proof that the fear of ritualism was dead. *Y Goleuad* replied that the presence of many non-conformists at the meetings was no proof that they were waiting for an invitation to return to the Church of England but was proof that they had a liberality of outlook not shared by the Church of England which tried to prevent their people visiting the chapels. The Archbishop had tried to be fair to the non-conformists and had admitted the impact they had made on the valleys of Wales where the chapels were not an unmixed evil but bore witness to the people's religious instincts which were reaching out for the Word of God and also to the zeal which could be awakened by Welsh preachers; he had then gone on to say that the non-conformists were a people engulfed in darkness and whose religious instincts were not significantly different from those found among the heathen. *Y Goleuad* said that the Arch-

75. 17/8/78, 8. 76. 5/4/79, 8. 77. 28/6/79, 5.

bishop, for all his charity, regarded the existence of the non-conformists as a misfortune which only a return to the Established Church could cure, and he and the Bishop of Winchester seemed not unhopeful of getting the non-conformists back to the Church; the Bishop of Winchester had even classed non-conformity with infidelity and drunkenness. Such pride, in the opinion of *Y Goleuad*, was due to establishment which would inevitably degrade any denomination endowed with such privilege, and in Anglicanism this sense of superiority was further aggravated by the priestly spirit among the clergy who claimed a special grace conveyed in ordination at the hands of a bishop in the Apostolic succession. The whole aim seemed to be to get the non-conformists to acknowledge their sacramental and pastoral barrenness, but *Y Goleuad* said that the evidence proved that the non-conformist denominations were more successful than the Church in building up their people.[78]

It was not only the Anglo-Catholics who were disliked by *Y Goleuad;* the Evangelical party was equally distasteful and non-conformists could not approve all they stood for.[79] Canon J. C. Ryle, later to be Bishop of Liverpool and whose sermons and addresses sold by the thousand in Anglican and non-Anglican circles, was not in favour because at the Croydon Church Congress he had defended the exclusive claims of the Church of England in the matter of its graveyards; moreover, his willingness to support the structure of the Church of England and to remain in it along with the ritualists whom he condemned was seen as an example of the narrowness and hypocrisy of the Evangelical party.[80] He also spoke at the Swansea Congress in 1879 and again stressed the virtues of establishment. Ryle was just as sectarian as the Anglo-Catholic Canon Garbett and the only thing that kept them in the same Church was the State connection.[81]

In view of this history of antipathy to the idea of establishment it was little wonder that Gladstone's declaration in favour of disestablishment in Wales was widely welcomed and also won lasting non-conformist loyalty to Gladstone and Liberalism.[82]

The agitation for disestablishment was further inflamed by two very personal issues. First, there was the Anglican control of the schools, particularly in rural areas, which gave the clergy direct access to all the children of the parishes; the struggle for

78. 25/10/79, 3. 79. 16/5/74, 8. 80. 20/10/77, 8.
81. 25/10/79, 8. 82. 25/7/74, 8.

non-conformist rights is treated in the chapter dealing with education.[83] Second, there were serious and bitter passions aroused by the clerical control of the graveyards around the parish churches. Even after 1811, Calvinistic Methodists desired, as non-conformists had always done, to be buried with their fathers and they wished their own ministers to conduct the services at the graveside, but the clergy claimed, with legal justification, that the churchyards were part of their freehold and that they alone would conduct services therein and receive the usual burial fees, and in spite of fierce non-conformist rumblings they continued to exercise their right. When Lewis Edwards' brother, Thomas, minister of the chapel at Penllwyn near Aberystwyth, died, the services at the home and in the chapel were conducted by Calvinistic Methodist ministers, but at the graveside the Vicar took full control, and, as *Y Goleuad* admitted, "the service was effectively read."[84] Non-conformists could baptise, train and receive their members into Church fellowship; they could give them the Sacrament and minister to them at death, but when it came to the last offices the Vicar, whom the deceased had not esteemed in life, stepped forward and took the service. There were, as has already been noted, probably not a few families who were not averse to this as they were not averse to weddings in the parish churches even when both parties were non-conformists but at least in their case provision was made for ministers to solemnise weddings in chapels if it was so desired but no concessions were made in the matter of funerals in the churchyards.[85] Also, quite apart from the indignity shown to ministers, many non-conformists felt that there were superstitious overtones in the idea that services in connection with burials in consecrated ground had to be conducted by an ordained clergyman, though the wishes of those who desired such arrangements must be respected.[86]

Moreover, the clergy were paid not only from the tithes levied on all taxpayers but they also claimed the burial fees. One writer said that if the clergy were sincere in their attacks on non-conformists they ought to have been so glad to see them die that they would also have buried them without charge. Further, when the clergy conducted services in the parish churches before the interment, it was apparently the custom in some cases for mourners to go up to the front and kneel and hand an offering to the clergy-

83. See p. 152. 84. 30/9/71, 11. 85. 5/4/73, 8. See p. 134.
86. 9/5/74, 8.

man. Archdeacon Evans of Bethesda had demanded a fee of 12/6 for the clergyman, 12/6 for the sexton, and 5/- for sundry works in connection with the grave.[87] Such payments were disliked not only because they were payments to a clergy whose services were not always welcome but also because they could be taken to suggest the practice of paying for the deliverance of souls from Purgatory.[88]

The issue was more noticeable in Wales than in England since a vastly greater proportion of the people in Wales were non-conformists than in England, but attempts were made in Parliament to get concessions for non-conformists in general. However, the Anglican majority in the Commons and their virtual monopoly in the Lords effectively blocked any change for many years. Two suggestions were made. One was to admit burials in churchyards without any service at all; non-conformists objected to this as no solution: "Who would want to bury their father, mother, brother or sister, like a dog?" Rev. Roger Edwards told the Association in Barmouth that this was a monstrous insult to non-conformists.[89] The other proposal was to establish new burial grounds in which there would be no restrictions on the services of any denomination. This was admitted to be a solution which could help those who were ready to open a new family grave but many non-conformists also saw it as a surrender of their right to use the family grave and as a means of further enhancing the social snobbery of the Anglicans who, though they boasted they were the Church of the poor, would look down upon those who used the new cemeteries as socially inferior; this was especially offensive to Calvinistic Methodists with their increasing influence.[90]

In 1873 Mr. G. Osborne Morgan, M.P., who was himself an Anglican, introduced a new Burial Bill and *Y Goleuad* expressed surprise that the majority against it in a House of 486 was only 14. The Welsh Liberal members, Henry Richard and David Davies, had given strong support to the Bill. Gladstone was not unsympathetic but the Member for Pembroke, Mr. Scourfield, had launched a bitter attack on the Bill and said that the Church of England was generous in allowing non-conformists to be buried in the churchyards and it was surely enough that such men as Henry Rees who had done so much to injure the Church of England should be buried in the churchyard without the further

87. 27/2/75, 6. 88. 9/5/74, 8. 89. 14/4/77, 6.
90. 22/7/71, 8.

concession of a service other than that in the Book of Common Prayer.[91] The Lords debated the Burial issue in 1876; Earl Granville moved that services other than those of the Church of England be allowed in the churchyards. The bishops were divided and a majority was against the motion. Lord Coleridge said the existing laws were nothing less than a persecution of the non-conformists.[92]

Passions were inflamed not only by the intrusion of the clergy into the burial of non-conformists but also by cases of negligence when they failed to turn up for funerals. At Abergele a poor woman belonging to the Calvinistic Methodists died and after a service conducted by her minister in the home the cortege left for the churchyard and the bell was tolled to indicate its approach but neither the Vicar nor his curate turned up and after waiting for twenty-five minutes she was buried with no service apart from a short prayer by a layman. *Y Goleuad* said this was not the first case of such negligence in Abergele.[93]

The fear of some Anglicans was that if non-conformist ministers were allowed into the graveyard to conduct services they would use the occasion for unseemly, vulgar and abusive orations. Lord Dynevor, himself an ordained clergyman, thought that such a danger was not serious as far as thousands of ministers were concerned; they could be trusted to behave with reverence and devotion, and in any case safeguards could be provided by requiring that such services should be made up of hymns, reading of Scripture and prayer.[94] Archbishop Tait annoyed many Anglicans by saying that some agreement should be reached as soon as possible. Lewis Edwards approved a liberal statement by the Bishop of St. Asaph that since non-conformity retained the basic Christian doctrines and was opposed to unbelief and sin there was surely some way to a compromise; the Bishop suggested that since laymen could in emergency take the burial service and since non-conformist ministers were at least laymen there was ground for allowing them to take the service at the grave without sacrifice on the part of the Church.[95]

The possibility of indecorous behaviour by ministers was recognised by some Calvinistic Methodists. At the Barmouth Association in 1877 Rev. T. J. Wheldon thought there was room for a new stable form of service at funerals which had become

91. 8/5/75, 8. 92. 27/5/76, 9. 93. 23/3/78, 12.
94. 22/7/71, 8. 95. 11/5/78, 9. 96. 14/4/77, 6.

occasions for lengthy speeches which desecrated the intent of a Christian service. Rev. Emrys Evans said that he had often witnessed three or four funeral services on one day in Denbigh and the superflous verbiage had grated on the nerves; every minister present had been asked to speak. Many agreed that such excess in the homes and chapels gave some ground for fear of what might happen if some ministers were allowed to conduct services in churchyards, but there were others who held that some offensive instances should not make them rush to lose the opportunity to bring out the lessons of the life of deceased persons, and one minisier entirely rejected any idea of uniformity and asserted that it was his privilege to conduct each service according to the circumstances of each case and he would have nothing to do with any move to approximate to the service in the Book of Common Prayer which was the same for the greatest saint and for the drunkard in the ditch.[96] *Y Goleuad* thought that when demands were being made for the right to conduct services in the churchyards there was a duty to reassure the Anglicans that the services would not be a cause of unnecessary offence; there was a case for addresses in the chapel and even at the grave but the aim should be to glorify God and not the dead.[97]

The matter was raised again at the General Assembly in 1878 and a plea was made for a measure of common practice and decorum; it was said that quite apart from the question of relations with the Anglicans ministers were prone to say what pleased the relatives of the deceased. Lewis Edwards agreed that a fixed service would be preferable to the lengthy addresses commonly given at funerals; indeed, in his view, they could not do better than to follow the order in the Book of Common Prayer; any address which might be required could be given at the next Church meeting as well as what might be said in the chapel before the burial. Nevertheless, though he thought the custom of addresses in chapel burial grounds had been devalued by practice, he agreed with Rev. Morris Morgan of Haverford West that a funeral was an occasion for the living to whom the Gospel ought to be proclaimed.[98] In contrast to Edwards' regard for the Book of Common Prayer burial service *Y Goleuad* reverted to a view common among seventeenth century Puritans that the Anglican service was unsuitable for general use since it presumed that God

97. 21/4/77, 8; 5/5/77, 8. 98. 8/6/78, 6.

had taken to Himself the soul of the departed, and this was something that God alone could know.[99]

In view of the readiness with which the weaknesses and indolence of clergymen were seized upon as grounds for exposing the evil consequences of establishment it is a considerable mark in favour of the clergy that so few cases of clerical scandals were unearthed. Rev. Anwyl Roberts, incumbent of Llanfair-mathafarneithaf, appeared before a Bangor court on a charge of drunkenness; several railway officials said that he had been drunk and unable to walk at Bangor Railway Station.[100] There were other cases of drunkenness, one case of illegitimate paternity, and one where the offender was sent to prison. Little wonder, said the report in *Y Goleuad*, that the Bishop of Bangor had said, "Do not mention Anglesey to me; it breaks my heart," but it went on to say that the people of Anglesey would not judge Christianity by the notorious samples which had so distressed the Bishop; they had learned the Gospel from faithful non-conformist ministers.[101] When the young John Williams was inducted as minister of Brynsiencyn with which his name in later years came to have an almost legendary association, it was claimed that no county in Wales had been for so long or so totally under the spell of the Gospel.[102]

After this record of acrimony it is refreshing to be able to turn to signs that amid the antipathies there were instances of esteem and friendship between Anglicans and non-conformists. At an Association in Sirhowy the local Vicar had planned and supervised the erection of the platform for the open-air preaching service and had also attended the service and sat among the ministers.[103] His action was noted and commended.[104] When Dr. Griffiths, the Vicar of Llandeilo Fawr in Carmarthenshire, died, he was lamented by *Y Goleuad* as a man held in great respect and as the Church of England's greatest preacher in the Principality; he had always treated non-conformist ministers as fellow-workers for God and when a notable Calvinistic Methodist elder was being buried in the churchyard at Llandeilo he allowed Dr. David Charles to give the address; as a token of respect to the Vicar, non-conformists had attended his funeral in large numbers.[105] When the Rector of Llanberis in Caernarvonshire, Rev. H. Jones Henry, left the parish, large numbers of non-conformists went to the parish church

99. 20/4/78, 9. 100. 26/7/79, 4. 101. 10/7/75, 8; 17/7/75, 8.
102. 2/2/78, 10. 103. 10/6/76, 4. 104. 17/6/76, 8.
105. 9/3/78, 13.

to hear his farewell sermon which was on the text, "Finally, brethren, farewell" (2 Cor. 13, v, 11).[106] When the wife of Rev. George Evans of Pen-sarn, Carmarthen, was buried, it was noted that the Vicar was among the chief mourners.[107] When Blaenplwyf chapel, near Aberystwyth, was built, the Vicar was among the subscribers and *Y Goleuad*'s comment was "Very good."[108] When Bishop Connop Thirlwall died in 1875 *Y Goleuad* paid a generous tribute to his thirty-four year episcopate up to his retirement in 1874 and to his renown as a thinker and as a classical scholar, and also to the way in which he had made himself at home in Wales; he had learned and mastered the Welsh language and this had enabled him to preach in both English and Welsh and so "to make an indelible mark upon our country"; he had also specially approved himself to non-conformists because of his unusual stand as an advocate of the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland[109] There were also some who did not share the Dean of Bangor's exclusive claims that the Church of England was the Church which ought to receive the loyalty of the people of Wales. A well-known literary figure, Rev. Robert Jones, Vicar of Rotherhithe, said that the non-conformists such as Harris, Rowland and Williams Pantycelyn were men of capacity who had done a great work for Wales while the clergy were sleeping and Wales owed them more than it did to a hundred like the Dean of Bangor.[110] *Y Goleuad* admitted that there were some Calvinistic Methodist ministers who refused to support the campaign for disestablishment and so had in some measure betrayed the cause of non-conformity and encouraged the enemies of disestablishment, but there were some clergymen who were in favour of disestablishment: it was only right that no man should be forced to conform to a policy contrary to what his conscience allowed.[111]

Several landlords showed generosity to Calvinistic Methodists in providing sites for chapels. Lord Sudeley gave the valuable site for Crescent Church in Newtown as well as sites for chapels in the surrounding district. Lord Newborough actually built a new chapel for the Calvinistic Methodists on Bardsey Island: it held between eighty and one hundred people and was erected on a site near the old monastic ruins where his Lordship had already erected a monument to the twenty thousand saints who, according to tradition, were buried on the island.[112]

106. 6/4/78, 11. 107. 9/8/79, 13.
108. "Da iawn": 13/4/78. 10. 109. 7/8/75, 8.
110. 2/2/78, 4. 111. 29/4/76, 5. 112. 19/8/76, 12.

Chapter VIII.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

The Constitutional Deed of the Connexion drawn up in 1826 affirmed the Protestant position of the denomination. It has already been noted that *Y Goleuad* reflected the general disapproval felt among Calvinistic Methodists for the Tractarian Movement in the Church of England. This movement seemed to indicate a trend which would eventually put the Church of England into subjection to the Church of Rome. *Y Goleuad* was also aware that this trend might be accelerated if Disestablishment was to take place and then the Church of England would be in control of its own affairs without the restraining hand of the State upon it. There were therefore many Calvinistic Methodists who saw in the attraction of the Church of Rome a source of danger which could change the whole face of the Church of England; thus, it might seem that an attack upon Establishment could be seen as an attack upon Protestantism. The situation was further complicated by the problem of Ireland. The Irish people had many justifiable grievances against England; Gladstone had sought to begin the process of redress by advocating Home Rule for Ireland. Admiration for Gladstone and a natural sympathy for a people who like the Welsh had been conquered and governed by England led to much support in Wales for the Home Rule policy, but here again there was the chilling thought that Home Rule would mean control of Ireland by Roman Catholics. Nevertheless, most Welsh non-conformists were willing to contemplate this outcome and there was very little sympathy for the protests of many Northern Irish Protestants against any plan to subject them to a Roman Catholic government in Dublin. *Y Goleuad* strongly condemned the party skirmishes in Ireland which were reported in lurid terms; the blame was judged to lie more heavily on the Orangemen than on the Roman Catholics. In 1872 there had been clashes in Belfast on August 15, the day of the annual celebrations held by a Roman Catholic society, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and *Y Goleuad* said that if Christianity could not make a better demonstration of itself than it had recently done in Belfast there was little hope of its influencing the whole world. The disturbances lasted for a week during which Protestants and Roman Catholics broke into each other's houses and it had become impossible for Protestants and Roman Catholics to live in the same

street: it had taken three thousand two hundred policemen to separate the factions who were still glaring at each other like tigers. The reporter had no hesitation in placing the blame on "the scum of the Orangemen."[1] The following week there was a report of a retaliatory disturbance fomented by the Fenians in Cork. Such clashes were said to be inevitable if religious hotheads had their way and there were those on both sides who were much to blame. The lowest strata of Roman Catholics were ready to erupt at any time and there were some Orangemen who were Protestant in name but whose main article of belief was an irreconcilable enmity against Roman Catholicism about which they knew as little as they did about Protestantism.[2] *Y Goleuad* said inflammatory leaders among the Irish were able by the lash of their oratory to keep Ireland in a state of turbulence wherein reason had been thrown away.[3] In 1878 there were reports of further disturbances in various parts of Ireland. In Belfast the windows of a Protestant church had been broken; the police had been attacked and there were some fatal incidents. One young girl was critically ill after injuries received in the Belfast riots.[4] In 1879 four rioters in Lurgan were remanded for trial on a charge of stabbing a priest.[5]

These Irish rumblings had their counterpart in Liverpool and other centres with large Irish populations. Orange demonstrations in Liverpool had been so turbulent that they were banned in 1877 and the demonstration in that year had to be held at Seaforth at Bootle but the venue was ill-chosen because thousands of Irishmen were working at the new docks in Bootle and they congregated to obstruct the Orangemen who had spent the day drinking and were ready for an affray; the police were stoned and the leaders of the parties had to be taken into custody. *Y Goleuad* thought that such inflammatory processions ought to be halted: "We wonder that the light of the present century has not taught men they have no right to insult a man's feelings or religion by means of processions and declarations which make for a breach of the peace."[6] The problem was not easily solved and *Y Goleuad* said that the loyalty of the Irish to their Roman Catholic faith made them an almost alien body in England; they were very difficult to assimilate into society since they tended to settle in large numbers in particular

1. 31/8/72, 1. 2. 7/9/72, 8 3. 11/7/76, 9.
4. 20/7/78, 11; 10/8/78, 7. 5. 20/9/79, 9. 6. 21/7/77, 9.

areas and set up Roman Catholic chapels and also to provide a large proportion of the prisoners in the gaols of the country.[7]

There was thus a general feeling that it would be much easier to give wholehearted support to the cause of Irish nationalism if there had not been at the same time a sense of uneasiness that in so doing sympathy and support was being given to Roman Catholicism. This uneasiness had been sharpened by the proceedings of the Vatican Council in 1870 which led to the promulgation of the dogma of Papal Infallibility. *Y Goleuad* correctly defined this as the claim that the Pope cannot err when he is fulfilling his duties as the chief pastor of all Christians since he has been promised the divine help to ensure such inerrancy. This did not mean that every papal statement on every possible topic was infallible but only those statements made after due preparation and in proper form as authoritative declarations on matters of faith and morals. The Pope had the responsibility of defining what was to be believed by the whole Church and all Christians had to acknowledge that authority and accept the Pope's pronouncements. To those not of the Roman obedience, the pressures exerted at the Council, not to mention the conditions of fallibility accompanying all human judgements, have not led them to concur in this papal claim; *Y Goleuad* said the claim went against the plain teaching of Scripture that God can by His Spirit teach every humble and sincere mind and that He had already so clearly spelled out everything necessary for salvation that it could be understood by all: no Church or Pope could make it clearer, and no man ought to degrade himself by surrendering his right to make his own judgement. *Y Goleuad* thought there was little danger of Calvinistic Methodism surrendering its heritage but it issued a warning against "any who may think themselves raised by Providence to sweep Methodism into the muddy bogs of ritualism and superstition."[8] Gladstone was commended for the firmness of his stand against the new dogma; the publication of his anti-papal tracts and of his challenge to Manning was warmly welcomed.[9]

Rev. William Williams, the retiring Moderator of the General Assembly, told the assembly that the dogma was a danger to evangelical religion which was also being threatened by the current assertions of godless scientists.[10] *Y Goleuad* thought the matter so important that it published a series of seven articles by

7. 2/10/75, 8. 8. 2/3/72, 6. 9. 21/8/75, 8.
10. 1/7/76, 4.

Rev. David Evans, M.A., Principal of the Endowed school at Gelligaer, on the Roman Catholic doctrinal position and the reasons for Protestant rejection of much that was therein.[11]

The death of Pope Pius IX in 1878 at the age of eighty-five and after a pontificate of thirty-two years during which the dogmas of papal Infallibility and of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary had been promulgated led *Y Goleuad* to attempt an assessment of his life and policy. It told of his many personal virtues, of his missionary work in Chile, and of his relief work in a cholera epidemic in Naples. He was elected to the papacy not because of any commanding claims but because less could be said against him than against others who seemed eligible for the office. He had liberated many political prisoners when he became Pope and he had shown himself a friend of political freedom in Italy, but he was a prisoner of the papal system himself and he made claims to temporal and spirital power almost as vast as those made by Hildebrand. In practice he did not achieve much and if the papacy advanced in England during his reign it lost ground in Italy, France and Germany.[12] *Y Goleuad* gave a cautious welcome to the appointment of his successor, Leo XIII, who as Cardinal Pecci had gained a reputation as a man of strong character with a courageous and decisive mind, with talents above the ordinary, and with a power to manage men, but it would take time to show if the general satisfaction at his appointment would be justified.[13]

Every Roman Catholic move was scrutinised for some sinister motive. A Roman Catholic proposal to resume pilgrimages to Becket's shrine at Canterbury was seen as an attempt to resurrect Roman Catholic practices and also as a foolish prank. *Y Goleuad* said that Henry VIII had ordered the scattering of the ashes of Becket's bones to the four winds but added sarcastically that it would be a small matter to effect a papist miracle whereby the same dust would be reassembled for the comfort of pilgrims.[14] The establishment of a Roman Catholic hierarchy in Scotland was seen as a further instalment of the policy of gaining power in Britain which had been first set forth clearly in Cardinal Wiseman's manifesto from the Flaminian gate in Rome in 1850.[15] There were also some groundless fears that the Pope was about to follow

11. 6/5/76—17/6/76. 12. 16/2/78, 3 and 7; 23/2/78. 13. 2/3/78, 8.
14. 5/7/73, 7.
15. 13/4/78, 13; Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

up the establishment of the Scottish hierarchy by conferring the Golden Rose upon Queen Victoria.[16]

One of the thorniest problems in Protestant-Roman Catholic relations has always been in the field of education. This was not so urgent in Wales as in Ireland. In Ireland in the seventies the issue centred mainly around university education. Trinity College in Dublin was an Anglican foundation and therefore was not a place where Roman Catholics could be educated. Colleges had been founded at Cork, Galway and Belfast; these were given financial support by the government and were combined in a federal examining body known as the Royal University of Ireland. They were suspect by Roman Catholics and by not a few Protestants as non-religious, if not godless, colleges. The Roman Catholic hierarchy wanted a college governed by the Church. Calvinistic Methodists in Wales were torn between their zeal for the civil and religious liberty of the underprivileged in Ireland and their fear of Roman Catholic expansion. Out of Newman's ill-starred ventures in higher education in Ireland there had eventually emerged Maynooth College which was given a measure of financial help by the British government. At Disestablishment this support had been withdrawn from the Roman Catholic Church just as the Regium Donum was withdrawn from Presbyterians and the annual subsidies from the Church of Ireland. Lump sums were paid in compensation. However, there had been renewed agitation that since the Royal University of Ireland was subsidised it was a serious injustice to refuse a grant to a Roman Catholic College which Roman Catholics could attend with a clearer conscience than they could attend the Royal University. *Y Goleuad* said it had been alarmed lest Gladstone would yield on this issue but had been relieved when he announced there would be no grants to a denominational college. There could be no justifiable objection, said *Y Goleuad*, to the Roman Catholics opening and supporting as many colleges as they could maintain out of their own resources, and this right ought to be maintained though many of the Roman Catholic teachings which would be propagated in such colleges were poisonous, their rites worse than foolish, and their political aims subversive of a healthy and peaceful society. Roman Catholics were citizens and had a right to order their own affairs as long as they did not transgress the rights of others.[17] The pressure for such a grant was sustained and a resolution

16. 4/5/78, 13. 17. 19/8/71, 8.

against any concession was passed by the Denbigh Association in 1879[18]

At the elementary school level Roman Catholics were propagating their policy of separate schools for their children. Cardinal Manning had issued a letter to all Roman Catholics warning them about the dangers of what he called the godless education in the Board schools.[19] A speaker at an Association in Wrexham claimed that Roman Catholics were trying to proselytise by getting non-Roman Catholic children to attend their schools.[20]

Nevertheless, opposition to Roman Catholicism was not a blind hostility; Calvinistic Methodists were not all unwilling to discern points of value in the Roman Catholic Church. It often seems even in the twentieth century that a readiness to have conversations with the Roman Catholic Church is a novel idea filled with all kinds of dangerous risks. This forgets the readiness of the major reformers of the sixteenth century to meet Roman Catholics and defend their position. Moreover, in 1872, *Y Goleuad* reported that the Pope had recently authorised several able and learned Roman Catholics to attend some meetings of Protestants in Paris and enter into theological debate with the minister; the editorial comment was, "Very good: who knows that this may not gain many to an unfeigned faith!"[21]

18. 28/6/79, 7.
19. 8/7/76, 4.
20. 22/6/78, 5.
21. "Da iawn; pwy a wyr nad fel hyn yr ennillir llawer i'r ffydd ddiffuant": 2/3/72, 6.

Chapter IX.

EDUCATION IN WALES

The nineteenth century in Wales was a period of growth in every field of education. At the primary level the National Society fostered the growth of Church schools which in the rural areas came to possess almost a monopoly of the field. The British Society was not concerned to establish denominational schools but sought to provide schools open to all, particularly in the expanding urban and industrial areas. At the secondary level, Grammar schools were multiplying, most of them being the outcome of private ventures and of private endowments. At University level, the doors of Oxford and Cambridge were being opened to dissenters, and more fellowships were made available to laymen; the red-brick expansion was under way, London, for example, being the centre of a new and growing University. Moreover, religious denominations became convinced of the need of a more thorough training for candidates for the ministry and so there was a proliferation of theological colleges.

All these movements were manifest in Wales. The National Society had been at work in Wales and by mid-century schools were to be found in most parishes. They were managed by the clergy who had the right to appoint teachers, to ensure that the Church catechism was taught, and to enter the schools and instruct the children in Church principles. This had been a source of unrest among non-conformists who felt that the schools were being used as centres for spreading disaffection among their children against the non-conformist denominations and so would endanger the survival of the denominational structure which was being built up; this was keenly felt by Calvinistic Methodists for whom the nineteenth century was their great era of expansion and consolidation. The situation became more acute when a new Education Bill was introduced in 1870 proposing to give State assistance to a programme of educational support and expansion. Where schools already existed they would receive State aid. Where no schools existed, as in many rapidly expanding industrial areas, State schools would be erected and would be under public control. The proposal to subsidise Church schools and thus further increase the virtual Anglican monopoly of education in rural areas was a particular aggravation to non-conformist parents who now felt they would be subjected to a double disadvantage; not only would their

children be subject to the continued indoctrination with Church principles but also through the rates which would be levied for school support they, the parents, would also have to pay for the indoctrination which was subversive of their own religious beliefs and practices. Hence, a violent agitation arose in the columns of *Y Goleuad*. There were hints that the mass of non-conformists were not as solidly behind their leaders as many would have wished. It was reported that a meeting was held at Trawsfynydd to consider the proposal to establish a school but only one-third of the ratepayers eligible to vote turned up and a majority was secured for a Board school under Church control; one correspondent said he was disappointed that the non-conformists had not been more alert to avoid a system where their children would have to attend a school devoted to the spread of sectarianism.[1]

Secondary education was also expanding in Wales but this was a source of less controversy. Anglicans of substance were already able to send their children to the public-schools of England or to the schools in Wales at such centres as Brecon and Botwnnog. There were also private ventures by clergymen who took a few pupils into their own homes and prepared them for entrance to Oxford or Cambridge or Lampeter. The doors of Lampeter were wide enough open to allow relatively poor young men to enter: there were considerable funds available to help prospective ordinands and there was a temptation for bright but penurious young men from non-conformist homes to conform so as to secure the benefits of education at Lampeter. At one point in his life Lewis Edwards was seriously deliberating about taking this step but in the end, due to his loyalty to the denomination of his parents, he resisted the attraction and it was only his own extraordinary persistence and abilities which enabled him to secure the education he so earnestly desired.[2] Many others with lesser abilities or tenacity conformed and were often castigated by scandalised non-conformists.[3]

Calvinistic Methodists had a growing proportion of members who had prospered in business and their prosperity was reflected in the growing ornateness of chapel frontages; they also desired to give their children educational advantages which had been denied to themselves but, on the other hand, they had no wish to put their children in schools where the whole pressure would be in the direction of conformity. To meet this need there arose

1. 8/9/77, 11. 2. See p. 16. 3. See p. 72.

a considerable number of private schools which became the seeds of many modern grammar schools. In Aberystwyth, Ardwyn School was a private venture with Rev. Llewelyn Edwards as its first head; he was a brother of Principal Thomas Charles Edwards. The advertisement columns of *Y Goleuad* contained regular advertisements of schools which were mainly attended by nonconformist children. Holt Academy near Wrexham was under the control of James Oliver Jones, "Undergraduate of London University," and had trained pupils since 1865 for University and Professional examinations. The Willow Street Academy at Oswestry was conducted by Owen Owen, a graduate of Oxford and for many years one of the most influential laymen in the Connexion. There were also schools for "Young Ladies" at Aberystwyth and Criccieth; the school at Aberystwyth had as its Principal Mrs. E. Marie Jones, who herself taught History, Geography, Literature, Latin, Scripture History, Domestic Economy, Geology, Botany, Astronomy, Drawing, Painting, Book-keeping and Elocution; the curriculum included a training class for governesses. The school at Criccieth offered an education in "the usual branches of an English education with accomplishments." Dr. Williams's School at Dolgellau was another notable venture whose foundation was accompanied by some degree of denominational suspicion.[4] A correspondent in *Y Goleuad* said it was rumoured that the plan would be for all girls at the school to go together to the different churches and chapels of the town in rotation on successive Sundays. It is hard to believe that any governing board would have made such a suggestion and the secretary of the board replied and said that children would go each Sunday to the church or chapel of the parents' choice.[5] A grammar school was opened in Machynlleth in an old Methodist chapel by Mr. Joseph Owen of Swansea Training College and soon had twenty-five pupils with prospects of increasing numbers.[6] It is probably an indication of the low social status accorded to the Welsh language in that period that almost without exception educational advertisements in *Y Goleuad* were in English.

Welsh people had also a keen interest in University education. There were ancient ties between Wales and Jesus College, Oxford, but it was not until 1871 that the doors of Oxford were opened to nonconformists. There were Calvinistic Methodists who feared that if young men went to the old universities they would be drawn away from their family background and religion, but Lewis

4. 19/2/76, 14. 5. 26/1/78, 4; 2/2/78, 5. 6. 26/2/76, 14

Edwards had only contempt for such an attitude; he held that if Calvinistic Methodism could not hold its own in the world at large it did not deserve to survive and so he sent his own sons to Oxford and the most famous of these, Thomas Charles, was one of the first nonconformists to graduate at Oxford which he did with great distinction; the pages of *Y Goleuad* record the occasional graduation of a Welsh nonconformist. However, not every aspirant to Oxford had the financial resources to go thither nor the ability to gain a scholarship.

Some were so eager to use every opportunity of getting to Oxford that quite a storm arose in Calvinistic Methodist circles when the authorities of Jesus College proposed that scholarships hitherto reserved for Welsh applicants, particularly from the schools of Abergavenny, Bangor, Beaumaris, Botwnnog and Cowbridge, should henceforth become open scholarships.[7] At successive Associations this issue was fiercely debated and resolutions were sent to Jesus College protesting against the spoliation of privileges intended for the Welsh. Thomas Charles Edwards, supported by his father, would have nothing to do with such protests; they were mindful of the suspicion with which many Calvinistic Methodists had once looked upon any who wanted to go to Oxford but who were now ready to grasp at any money that might be going at Oxford for the Welsh; they poured scorn on the timidity which wished protection for Welsh students and was afraid to take on all competitors in open contest and so prove their worth.

At an Association in Denbigh in 1879 Rev. Thomas Gee recalled the part played by Welshmen in the founding of Jesus College and he estimated that the annual income from endowments was £10,000. Among the notable benefactors of the College was Edmund Meyricke who had entered the College in 1656 and at his death bequeathed large sums to the College; the income from his bequests had not always been disbursed and so it had accumulated into a sum of about £18,000 of which £12,000 had been earmarked to provide scholarships for Welsh students, but it was now proposed to reorganise the College funds and reduce the number of closed scholarships. Gee held that this £12,000 should still be reserved for the benefit of Welsh students and he thought that this was not too much to ask when the number of colleges at Oxford and Cambridge was taken into account and when the special provisions for Scottish and Irish students were also noted.[8] The issue was raised

7. Mallet, C. E., *A History of the University of Oxford*, III, p. 393.
8. 28/6/79, 7.

at the General Assembly in Ffestiniog a month later. Owen Thomas thought that the Welsh links should be preserved and the opportunities for Welsh students retained, and Rev. Roger Edwards thought that though there would be more credit if Welsh candidates competed and won in open competition there were practical advantages to be gained from the retention of the resources at Jesus College which were specified for Welsh students. Edwards said he took this view, distasteful as it was to find that the Dean of Bangor took the same view but he had to admit that the Dean's support for a cause was not an automatic reason for being against the cause. Thomas Charles Edwards thought that the Dean's views, though always honestly expressed, were not always wise and it was certainly a change of the decanal tune to hear him seeking the support of Calvinistic Methodists for retaining the Jesus College system of closed scholarships; Edwards thought there was no honour to be gained by winning a closed scholarship and he would not touch such a scholarship; he then launched into a violent attack on Jesus College which had so declined that no boy of talent would go to it if he could go elsewhere, and as for any benefit accruing to Wales he said that scholarships awarded by the Meyrick Trust had been given to men the most of whom had gone to serve the Church of England in England. He advised the Assembly to have nothing to do with any protest to Jesus College and he was supported by his father and David Saunders. However, a resolution proposed by Mr. William James of Hay that the Assembly send a message to Jesus College protesting against the proposed changes and pointing out that the Snell scholarships were reserved at Balliol for Scots was passed by the Assembly.[9] It is perhaps easy to understand the scorn of Thomas Charles Edwards and his father for closed scholarships since they had both the intellectual brilliance which made success in academic competition a natural gift, but many of the ordinary members of the Assembly must have been conscious of the opportunities which opened before more average aspirants in the system of reserved scholarships.

In spite of the decision of the Assembly, Thomas Charles Edwards's speech gave rise to a prolonged controversy. Owen Owen, the Oswestry schoolmaster, challenged Edwards's assertions about the poor standing of Jesus College in Oxford; he claimed that from 1853 to 1878 Jesus College had been ninth in the Classical Finals,[10] and top of the table in Mathematics and Natural Science.[11]

9. 5/7/79, 7. 10. 26/7/79, 11. 11. 2/8/79, 12.

This reading of the results was challenged by another writer who said that since Owen included third class honours among the "high honours" it was little wonder that Jesus figured in his lists.[12] Owen Owen replied and said he had included passes in the fourth class among the high honours and claimed that to gain even a fourth class at Oxford was a high achievement.[13] An undergraduate wrote to say that calculations which included passes in the third and fourth classes gave a very misleading picture of the academic status of a college; he also thought that calculations covering twenty-five years could also be quite misleading as there could have been very significant changes within that period and they would have been obscured by the over-all calculation.[14] A further letter pointed out that Owen's picture was distorted because he included in his lists All Souls' College which had no undergraduates at all but picked up the cream of all the colleges.[15]

Y Goleuad reviewed the controversy and said it was curious to see non-conformists fighting on the side of the monopoly in Jesus College; this was not true patriotism; the proper course would be to build up Welsh self-confidence so that there would be no fear of English competition. Money would be better spent in equipping men to go to Oxford and to compete in open scholarship examinations; the weakness of the closed system was shown in the fact that no students who had entered Jesus College in the previous fifteen years with a closed scholarship had proceeded to gain First Class in Classics.[16] Moreover, it was, in the opinion of *Y Goleuad*, an ironic policy to see Calvinistic Methodists so concerned about Oxford when there was a time that many of them railed against any who sent their sons to Oxford. It was also doubtful if they had any right to pronounce on the matter at all and it would have been better to be on the side of freedom than of limitation. Candidates ought to have been encouraged to compete and excel without fear; even the Dean of Bangor had sufficient liberality of mind to suggest that ten new open scholarships should be founded or that ten of the old closed scholarships should become open scholarships.[17]

The matter was raised again at the Association in Llandovery and a resolution was introduced in line with the views expressed in the North that Welsh rights should be safeguarded. Rev.

12. 9/8/79, 11. 13. 23/8/79, 5. 14. 30/8/79, 5.
15. 6/9/79, 13. 16. 9/8/79, 8.
17. 30/8/79, 8; 27/12/79, 8.

Llewelyn Edwards, son of Lewis Edwards, supported the family line; he said it was remarkable that the Calvinistic Methodists were so interested in the issue; the monies had not been left to them and anyone who knew the truth about Jesus College knew that reform was needed and no amount of whitewashing could hide the worsening condition. He thought Wales would probably benefit if the available money were spent on improving Welsh schools and thus providing the training which would enable the Welsh to compete for open scholarships; as things were and with the limited facilities for preparation Welshmen held £2,000 in open scholarships. Mr. William James, of Hay, who had successfully piloted the resolution of protest through the General Assembly, claimed that Edwards was diverting attention from the main issue; this was not the reform of Jesus College nor the provision of schools in Wales but the use of Welsh money. The Association passed the resolution of protest by a large majority.[18] A further resolution was passed requesting that scholarships at Jesus should be open to candidates from all Welsh schools and not from five centres as hitherto.[19]

Later historians have fully recognised the need for reform; "the Fellows and scholars were mostly ill-taught and rarely appeared with credit in the pass lists." Reform had already begun in 1858 and a further step was taken in 1882 which was a compromise between the demands of the Edwards family and of the Connexional courts; just under half of the Fellowships, Exhibitions and Scholarships were thrown open and even in the case of closed scholarships no awards were to be made unless a certain standard was reached. By the end of the century there were eighty undergraduates in the College, of whom forty-four were Welshmen.[20]

In other ways the monopoly of the old universities was being gradually broken. There had always been the outlet to Scottish universities. London was now opening a way to higher education for an increasing number. Much was made of the success of Mr. R. D. Roberts who was the first Welshman to gain the Doctorate of Science of London University; he was the son of Mr. Richard Roberts, a timber merchant in Aberystwyth, and he was also a nephew of David Charles Davies of Jewin in London.[21]

The main focus of interest at the time was naturally the growth of the new University College at Aberystwyth. That story has

18. 16/8/79, 7.
19. 16/8/79, 12.
20. Mallet, op. cit., pp. 351 & 393; Hardy, E. C., *Jesus College*, pp. 105, 187 ff.
21. 3/8/78, 5.

been told by Sir Emrys Evans.[22] The fortunes of the new college were closely followed by *Y Goleuad*. Many saw the experiment as a test of non-conformist capacity to launch and inspire a national institution. There were Anglican clergy and laity who gave great help to the nascent institution but the initial impulse came from non-conformists who wished to provide a means of higher education for Welsh young people in their own country. There was a feverish concern that the first Principal, Thomas Charles Edwards, should lead the college to increasing success. He was appointed in 1872 and if his somewhat autocratic temper made for internal tension his public advocacy of the College and his personal distinction were of inestimable benefit in those years.[23] In 1878 *Y Goleuad* gave much attention to the affairs of the College which were said to be in a critical state due to internal tensions and due to the refusal by the Tory Government to give the College a grant of £5,000 for building purposes and an annual grant of £2,500 for maintenance. The straitened circumstances aggravated the frayed nerves within the College itself. The request for Government aid had been supported by every shade of political and religious opinion. Welsh political sympathies, already largely given to Liberalism, were further drawn in that direction when Gladstone promised that a Liberal Government would make a grant when returned to power. *Y Goleuad* said that the Tory refusal was not unexpected since the Tory aim was to keep Wales ignorant and corrupt; it was only in such an atmosphere that establishment could be sustained. Though there were conscientious Churchmen who had risen above party loyalty in their concern for Wales, the Welsh Church party as a whole was hostile to the infant college. The College was therefore forced to economise; one of the quickest methods of doing so was to reduce the number and quality of the staff, but a college without first-class teachers would be like Samson without his hair and would not exert a proper influence. *Y Goleuad* said it was important for all denominations to support the college not only for the advantage to be gained in facilities for education for the ministry but also in a national institution.[24] Two months later the paper felt able to report that in spite of Anglican suspicion the success of the institution had been remarkable and the number of students was greater than might have been expected; this success had been achieved in the face of constant sniping in the columns of *The Western Mail*.

22. Evans, D. Emrys, *The University of Wales.*
23. See p. 19.
24. 13/7/78, 8.

a Tory paper controlled by Anglicans and which assumed that everything not under Anglican control was sectarian. Therefore, according to *Y Goleuad,* Anglicans regarded the British and Foreign Bible Society, the British Society for the Founding of Schools, and every liberal institution as sectarian in outlook and policy, and it was therefore little wonder that the college was denigrated as a sectarian institution. It had also been reported that as part of the brazen Anglican assault it had been suggested that the staff were not of first-class calibre, but this had moved no less a figure than the Vice-Principal of Lampeter to give a courageous witness to the contrary. *The Cambrian News* was also accused of having seen a sinister sectarian move in a meeting between representatives of the college and of the denominational colleges when the possibility of enabling ministerial students to profit from the educational opportunities at Aberystwyth was discussed, but *Y Goleuad* reminded *The Western Mail* that a similar but unsuccessful meeting had already taken place with the representatives of Lampeter some time before.[25] Dr. R. D. Roberts, whose academic renown has been noted already, thought this was unfair to *The Cambrian News* which had admitted that the college with between eighty and ninety students was an institution which could not be ignored and was likely to grow.[26]

The question of wider educational opportunity for ministerial students was of great importance not only to the denominations but to the college since at that time these students were a substantial proportion of the young people of Wales who were likely to get the chance of higher education. Professor R. I. Aaron recalls that when he began his professorship in Wales about thirty years ago ministerial students were still a large group within the college and were the leading figures in student life. It was obvious that the wider spectrum of studies and staff gave opportunities which could not be had at denominational colleges which normally had at most three of a staff. In Scotland, it was the practice to go to a university for four years before entering a theological course.[27]

Lord Aberdare, a notable defender of the college as well as its first President, spoke at the opening of the new term in October 1878 and defended the college against the recent attacks upon its organisation, standards and value.[28] The affairs of the college were

25. 7/9/78, 8. 26. 26/10/78, 4. 27. 21/9/78, 8. 28. 26/10/78, 14.

debated in Parliament in 1879 and Mr. Henry Vivian, who later became the first Baron Swansea, exposed the poor provision made for university education in Wales. Gladstone had said that in Ireland one in every 3,121 went to a university, in Scotland one in every 840, but, according to Vivian, the rate in Wales was one in every 8,000; he said that the number of Welsh students then getting higher education was 189, of whom 55 were at Jesus College, 70 at Lampeter, and 64 in Aberystwyth; if this had been Scotland the number would have been 1,786. Vivian also pointed out that Government grants to universities in Scotland amounted to £20,085; on the same scale Wales should have received £8,844 but in fact got nothing. Gladstone supported Vivian but Lord George Hamilton took a strong Tory line and said there was no reason to help a people who could not speak English and he held that an increase in the number of universities would only lower the value of degrees. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said the Government did not propose to give any grant and the Commons then rejected the proposal to do so by one hundred and five to fifty-four.[29]

Y Goleuad thought that the administration of the college would be improved if it were left in the hands of the Senate, which was made up of the Principal and professors, who were men of education and who knew the daily problems better than did the wider college council.[30] This produced a retort from a Stephen Evans of London who denied the implication that the council was not composed of men of education; out of forty-four members seventeen were graduates of Oxford or Cambridge or London, one or two were graduates of a Scottish university, three were Members of Parliament, and the rest were men of social standing and could be regarded as men of learning and they had also contributed thousands of pounds to the college.[31] Another writer suggested that the Welsh could learn from the Home Rule policy in Ireland and make the adoption of parliamentary candidates conditional upon their promise to vote for government support for the college which in spite of meagre resources and internal wrangling had made marked academic progress.[32]

The College at Aberystwyth did not overcome all its administrative difficulties and financial straits in the decade under review

29. 5/7/79, 13.
Gladstone was returned to power in 1880 and he gave a grant to the College in 1882.
30. 12/7/79, 8. 31. 19/7/79, 12. 32. 8/11/79, 5.

and it still had storms to weather long after Thomas Charles Edwards had resigned from the Principalship in 1891 in order to follow his father in Bala, but its survival in this period made possible its survival and vast expansion in future years. Out of the early anxious struggles emerged a federal University which has been one of the few visible organs of Welsh national life.

Chapter X.

SOCIETY AND INDUSTRY IN WALES

During the nineteenth century there were many waves of expansion and recession in Welsh industry. At the beginning of the seventies there was a feeling of buoyancy about the prospects for the national economy. This was reflected in many incidental items of news in the pages of *Y Goleuad*. For example, Aberdyfi was said to be at the beginning of a period of prosperity; the railway had just reached the town and this facilitated an increasing export of slates from the expanding quarries at Corris and Aberllefenni. The only drawback about this was that the clouds of dust arising as ships were laden caused inconvenience to the increasing number of holidaymakers who were being attracted by the amenities and climate of the sheltered resort.

The general prosperity was reflected in the growing affluence of many Calvinistic Methodists. Mention was often made of servant girls in their homes; they would attend to the needs of visiting preachers and would stay at home to prepare dinner while the household went to the morning service. The daughters of the more affluent members were sent to boarding schools. An increasing number of their sons were getting the opportunity of higher education and some professional training; this was one of the reasons for the campaign for an educated ministry since increasingly-educated congregations would be repelled if they had to listen to the raw effusions of untrained preachers and ministers. There was also an increasing consciousness of social distinctions; not a few of the moderately prosperous members were eager to display that they had left the ranks of the labouring classes. This was revealed in the increasing opulence of chapel buildings and especially in their ornate frontages. These pretentious frontages often seemed as if they had been erected to outdo a neighbouring chapel rather than to suggest a place of worship. The increasing cult of the ornate was a frequent cause of lamentation. Simple buildings which had cost a few hundred pounds were replaced by suites of buildings costing several thousand pounds; this was said by some to be evidence of overweening pride but was censured even more because it inflicted a burden of debt which was not cleared for years and indeed was almost impossible to clear in a time of depression. This load of debt and the annual interest payment upon loans led, according to some writers, to a desire to get

a Sunday ministry as cheaply as possible; this lowering of the standard of the pulpit proved to be the very negation of the purposes for which the buildings were erected. One writer said that while there had been a development from meeting-places in barns and sheds where mice and bats could be heard to buildings ornate enough to be papist temples, the payment of ministers was still very meagre and if it remained at this low level it would be proof that sermons were esteemed as lightly as they were in the Roman Catholic Church.[1] *Y Goleuad* thought that once the burden of debt was lifted, as no doubt it would be in time, the Connexion would then be in a position of affluence, but unless this were to be reflected in the payment made to ministers even fewer would be drawn in to the ministry and the buildings could become cenotaphs.[2]

This concern to make the atmosphere of the Connexion reflect the increasing social and business aspirations of the members was not always successful in keeping members in the fold and there were references to some who had drifted back into Anglicanism. Ministers were given a measure of esteem which did not always encourage the development of the higher qualities of character. They were given concessions on the railways for weekend travelling; this was largely due to the generosity of David Davies of Llandinam, a railroad magnate and a munificent benefactor of the Connexion. This reflected the commercial success of his enterprises, and it was a barometer of a trade recession when the railway concessions to ministers had to be withdrawn.[3]

The affluence of these years was also reflected in the frequent references to musical education which was then the hallmark of a Victorian polish; this was, however, not always regarded as an asset since it was said to cultivate a levity and shallowness of mind which rendered many people incapable of appreciating sermons of depth and length.[4]

However, there was also a seamy side to prosperity. There were grim accidents as there usually are in times of raw and competitive industrial growth. This was particularly true of mines and quarries. A mining engineer was killed at Abercwmboi mine near Aberdare.[5] A disaster occurred in a tunnel being bored near Maesteg when fourteen workers were killed and others injured.[6] An accident took place at the coal mine at Quaker's Yard when the cage failed to stop but went up over the top and killed one man

1. 23/9/76, 6. 2. 10/3/77, 8. 3. See p. 165. 4. See p. 77.
5. 16/10/75, 13. 6. 29/4/76, 12.

and injured two others.[7] There was a mine disaster in the Rhondda when fourteen miners were reported missing.[8] A miner died in an accident in a mine at Penclawdd.[9] At Dinorwic and Llanberis quarries a worker was killed in each quarry in the month of June 1878.[10] A boy was killed in a quarry at Machynlleth when he got caught in a machine.[11] A couple of rock falls at Penrhyn quarry had killed four workers.[12] At Seven Sisters Colliery the cage overturned when sixty yards from the bottom and three miners lost their lives.[13] A series of accidents at Ffestiniog quarries cost the lives of four men.[14] A mining accident at Ebbw Vale involved the death of three men and sixteen ponies.[15] Worst of all was the mining disaster at Abercarn when two hundred and fifty-eight miners lost their lives.[16]

In addition to these losses of life due to accidents there was the constant toll of early deaths due to infant mortality, tuberculosis and the diseases associated with mining. In two successive issues of *Y Goleuad* the obituary column consisted of notices of the deaths of persons aged 15 months, 3½ years, 5 years, 8 years, 21 years, 23 years, 29 years, 31 years, 33 years and 49 years; none were over 50, and such lists of early deaths were not uncommon.[17]

These were the trials associated with any era of industrial growth, but there were further crushing hardships when one of the periodic recessions of trade and industry occurred. By the end of the seventies Wales had begun to experience one of these waves of adversity. An early indication of the impact of this recession was the withdrawal of the concessions to ministers on the railways. This roused some protests about the extra burden placed on ministers and chapels, but there were quite a number who welcomed the move. They said it was wrong for ministers to expect preferential treatment and the railways had been laid down to be economically viable and not to be Connexional appanages. It was also argued that it would be a positive value if ministers stayed at home, saved the expenses of travelling and used the time saved to prepare new sermons. Churches would also have more resources to pay their own ministers adequately.[18]

The notorious report of Rev. John Owen to the Pwllheli Association in 1879 concerning the state of religion in Lleyn in Eifionydd reflected the current slump. He said trade and agriculture were

7. 21/1/77, 13. 8. 21/4/77, 7. 9. 9/2/78, 11. 10. 15/6/78, 14.
11. 22/2/79, 11. 12. 31/5/79, 13; 8/11/79, 11. 13. 30/8/79, 13.
14. 6/9/79, 12. 15. 27/9/79, 14. 16. 21/9/78, 11.
17. 11/11/76, 13; 18/11/76, 13. 18. 1/3/79, 13; 8/3/79, 4.

at a low ebb. Owen Thomas asserted that the recession in trade and industry was likely to cost the farmers millions of pounds and these conditions were aggravated by what he called the unnecessary wars into which the country had been led by the Government.[19]

Reports of hardships began to flow in after 1875, but the adversities really began to bite in 1878. Rev. David Edwards of Newport told an Association in Newport in 1877 that scores of families were feeling the hardships and had to sacrifice many comforts.[20] In January 1878 the hardships were sharpened by a very hard period of weather. All parts of Wales were hit, but the South more severely than the North. In Cardiff the poorhouse was so full that the boardroom and offices had to be used to provide space for all who needed somewhere to sleep. Of the five hundred mines in Glamorgan and Monmouth only twenty were working full time. At Penarth the docks were at a standstill and hundreds of men were near starvation; there were days when no ships were being loaded with coal. At the Ocean colliery in Treorchy, where one thousand men had been employed, there had only been thirteen working days in December 1877. Abergorci mine in the Rhondda had only worked seventeen days in six weeks. In Swansea the number in the poorhouse was double its normal complement. In Mountain Ash many men set out for work without having had any breakfast and with no sure prospect of any work when they reached the mines, but they had sufficient pride to make them hide their poverty from their neighbours by carrying their food boxes with them even though they were empty. In Pontypridd many had few clothes and were starving with cold. In the Rhondda some had to cook potato skins which were only fit for pigs. Aberdare had many cases of great hardship, including a widow with six children who had neither food nor fire for two days; another starving woman was too weak to stand. At Seven Sisters colliery some men walked two miles daily in hope of work but were usually successful on only one or two days a week. It was common to find many families who for weeks had lived on nothing but bread and tea twice a day.[21] Maesteg was severely hit and had felt the first chill winds of recession as early as 1874; by 1878 many works had closed down and others were very slack; at most, there was only short part-time work for which very low wages were paid and great hardship was being suffered even by industrious and sober families whose thrift had hitherto enabled them to face the severities endured by others.

19. 6/9/79, 11. 20. 3/11/77, 8. 21. 5/1/78, 13.

Men went to the Llynfi Iron Works with empty food boxes and on such days as they were fortunate enough to get work they had to work all day without any food. Some homes were not able to afford bread even on Sundays.[22]

People could not buy coal; stocks had piled up and the price would have to be reduced to enable people to buy, but then the owners would be able to pay less wages and so the people would not be able to buy even the cheaper coal; moreover, a reduction in wages would further crush men who had only two or three days' work each week and were barely subsisting as things were.[23]

Hardships were more severe in the crowded valleys of the South, but the North did not escape. The vast Arthog quarry in Merionethshire was at a standstill and others were almost dead.[24] The Bethesda quarries of Lord Penrhyn in Caernarvon were also in sore straits, and the abrupt dismissal of many men had caused tempers to run high and sectarian and racial feelings were inflamed. An Englishman, Mr. Wyatt, was the manager of the quarry and he was the victim of much abuse. He received sinister and anonymous threats such as a sketch of a gun and a coffin with the inscription "Prepare to go to hell." The workmen repudiated the threat and desired that the perpetrator should be punished. The Quarrymen's Union advised their members to give up hope of getting work at the quarries for at least three months; the young boys could go back to school and the older could help on their home farms.[25]

The solution prescribed by the owners was a reduction of wages. *Y Goleuad* advised the workers to accept this since half a loaf was better than no bread; it was vain for Union officials to think they could reverse the workings of God who was controlling events even in bad times.[26] It was also pointed out that in times of relative prosperity the slate quarries were over-manned and therefore dismissals in times of stress were inevitable though the correspondent from Bethesda admitted that the method of dismissal had been hard and cruel and often for feeble reasons; older workers who could have little prospect of alternative work were dismissed on the flimsy ground that they were living too far away from the quarries though others were retained who lived further away but happened to live on Lord Penrhyn's estates.[27]

Reports of active industrial unrest were few and far between and got little sympathy from *Y Goleuad*. A strike at Merthyr

22. 2/2/78, 14. 23. 4/1/79, 9. 24. 11/1/79, 4.
25. 11/1/79, 7. 26. 4/1/79, 9. 27. 15/12/77, 10.

Tydvil was reported in 1878 when more than two thousand miners left their underground caverns in protest against a threat of a wage reduction similar to the ten percent which had already taken effect in Aberdare. The strikers offered to surrender a day's pay in the month rather than accept the threatened cut in the rate of pay; their argument was that once the rate was cut it might not be restored when prosperity returned. The officials at the mine thought the directors of the company would not accept the miners' proposals.[28] At the Crawshay mines in the Forest of Dean a five percent cut in wages was negotiated with the miners.[29] Lord Penrhyn's workers also agreed to a cut of half-a-crown in their wages and to work a four-day week.[30]

It can be argued that there was little general understanding in the period of the economic factors and political reasons which led to times of depression. *Y Goleuad* certainly showed little awareness that human maladministration and the inherent defects of the economic system were at least in part responsible for the devastating regressions. Indeed, they were attributed by one writer to the inscrutable working of God.[31] It is also clear that the lapse of a century has not given men the mastery of these economic ills, and precarious balances of trade are often at the mercy of military adventurers in some corner of the globe or of inscrutable financial speculators in some European capital. Nevertheless, it has to be acknowledged that the prescriptions offered in *Y Goleuad* for easing these crises were palliatives rather than cures. Much of the trouble was laid at the door of the drink trade which enticed men to squander their scant resources. It was said that in Maesteg the consumption of drink had actually increased during the slump. Expenditure on drink kept many in poverty even in more prosperous times and there were no reserves in many homes to call upon in time of adversity and children were barefooted and neglected.[32] It was said that the bitter weather in January 1879 had added to the hardships in Bethesda but this was only an augmentation of the misery caused by persistent drunkenness and by a failure to save during the previous four prosperous years.[33]

Some tried to solve their problems by emigration. In South Wales it was noted that many young men were planning to emigrate to Australia.[34] At Bethesda one young man managed to save £19

28. 8/2/78, 7. 29. 1/3/78, 12. 30. 31/5/79, 11.
31. 4/1/79, 9. 32. 2/2/78, 14. 33. 18/1/79, 11.
34. 5/1/78, 13.

4s. 0d. to pay his fare from Liverpool to California and others were doing likewise.[35] This was a possible way of escape for young men though even for them there were hardships in abundance in America, but the real sufferers were the older men for whom there was no prospect of a fresh beginning.

Probably the only recognition of the wider factors leading to depression was a suggestion that the adversities were due to the international entanglements and warlike preparations embarked upon by Disraeli and which would only be reversed by a Liberal Government.[36] However, many of the main supporters of the Liberal Party were wealthy industrialists like the Davies family of Llandinam. The personal integrity and philanthropic idealism of such families is not in question and compares magnificently with the indulgent selfishness of many of the idols of modern society. They were genuinely concerned to use their wealth as a trust of which they were accountable stewards. They are not to be blamed because at that time they did not see the need for great changes in the social and economic structure of society. The economic thinking of the Liberals was in large measure and often unconsciously dominated by the presuppositions of a competitive capitalist system. As a result of global upheavals it was almost inevitable that the Liberal Party as it then was should wither away, but Conservatism has also had to change in ways that would have seemed abhorrent to Victorian Tories. From a twentieth century standpoint there was an incongruity between the tirades in *Y Goleuad* against Disraeli's imperialism and the sturdy attempts to justify the policies of the mill and mine owners.

The support for Liberalism was not based on economic issues but on the promise of leaders like Gladstone to remedy the disabilities of nonconformists and to disestablish the Church of England in Wales; it was hopeless to look for relief to the Tories and in the eyes of *Y Goleuad* Disraeli was the embodiment of all that was sinister in Tory policy. His recent move to make Queen Victoria the Empress of India was held up to ridicule. She had been placed in the chair of the Great Mogul and this had shown Britain's advance from the days when equality had been the national aim along with an attempt to lift the burdens off the shoulders of the depressed multitudes in the world; these aims were high enough for such earth-bound creatures as Gladstone and John Bright but not enough for Disraeli who had been raised to exalt

35. 11/1/79, 7.

36. 11/1/79, 4.

the nation to imperial eminence and to mark out a royal realm as far afield as the Himalayas: he had created Bishops, Earls, Marquises and Dukes, and now, most splendid of all, an Empress; it only remained for him to declare her Queen of Kings and Empress of Emperors.[37] The Tory Party, said *Y Goleuad*, boasted it was the defender of the Constitution and national institutions against the destructive attacks of the Liberals; "in so far as they are opposed to every reform this claim is irrefutable"; the Tories had opposed the repeal of Church rates, the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, and every extension of the franchise.[38] Nevertheless, sincere and influential as were the Gladstonian protestations of peaceable and egalitarian intentions, the Liberal Party could not opt out of the continental struggles for power, and it was its fate that in the last chapter of its period in power it should have to lead Britain into the Great War; it was even more ironic that in that war the national leader should have been the famous Welshman, Lloyd George.

Idealistic as was the support of *Y Goleuad* and indeed of the Connexion for Gladstone and his policy, there was little credit in the support given to the owners of the mills and the mines in times of depression and it is doubtful if even the owners themselves would have been happy with some of the reasons given for offering that support. The adversities were said by *Y Goleuad* to be the result of the lack of thrift among the people in times of prosperity, but even the owners must have known that for most people the wages were at most sufficient to sustain life; there was little opportunity to save. The remedy prescribed in *Y Goleuad* was that people should learn to live economically; thrift and self-denial would be a sufficient cure for the ills of the time.[39] The people ought to learn from their hardships the virtue of saving in good times so as to have something in reserve for a time of scarcity.[40] This advice no doubt has a measure of sound sense within it but it must have sounded unrealistic even to sober and industrious people whose resources were precarious even at the best of times and were constantly threatened by disease as well as by depressions. Much has been written about the estrangement between the churches and the Labour Party but in view of past attitudes it is perhaps remarkable that it is not wider than it is.

Whatever justice there was in the rebukes of *Y Goleuad*, much sympathy was shown to the stricken areas by others who were

37. 18/3/76, 8. 38. 18/5/78, 8. 39. 11/1/79, 4. 40. 4/1/79, 9.

themselves in sore straits but who wished to help others who were in a worse plight than themselves.[41] Soup kitchens were opened in many areas to give some relief to the most needy. At Merthyr Tydvil the Rector had arranged for soup to be provided once a day for between five and six thousand children.[42] In Aberystwyth a clothing club for the poor was founded in Siloh chapel; sixty joined and contributed between one penny and three pence a week and people associated with the English chapel were allowed to join.[43] Eight hundred poor children of Caernarvon were entertained to dinner on one Saturday by a number of ladies of the town.[44]

Relief funds were launched and contributions were received from areas which were themselves hard hit. Considerable sums were sent from the North to the South. Tabernacle chapel in Ffestiniog subscribed £13 and Peniel chapel £14 9s. 0d.[45] A collection of £1 8s. 6d. was made in Bardsey Island for the help of the needy.[46] A collection had also been made among the students at the University College in Aberystwyth.[47] In Pontypridd and Trefforest about five hundred families had been helped in the soup kitchens and also by the distribution of £400 in the space of six weeks but conditions were still bad and more resources were needed; it was noted that much of the funds so far received had come from the North.[48] £136 was collected in the Arfon Monthly Meeting area and of this £19 were sent to Merthyr, £19 to Aberdare, £19 to Mountain Ash, £16 to Maesteg, and £13 to Blackwood.[49]

These efforts were valuable signs of sympathy and concern and eased much immediate distress, but they did not cure the causes of the distress, nor could they be sustained during a prolonged period of adversity. A relief fund was set up in Rhymni and Pontlotyn and £150 was raised but this was soon used up in meeting the immediate needs of five hundred unemployed people in the area and it was said there was little hope of further resources.[50] Maesteg was severely hit and the workers at Llwydarth Tin Works had offered to raise a collection, but as *Y Goleuad* asked, what could they do for so many?[51] Nevertheless, the fund reached £262 which included gifts from the North.[52]

41. 2/2/78, 14. 42. 5/1/78, 13. 43. 8/12/77, 14; 19/1/78, 10.
44. 1/3/78, 12. 45. 26/1/78, 7. 46. 23/2/78, 7.
47. 2/3/78. 12. 48. 23/2/78, 12. 49. 16/2/78, 6.
50. 16/2/78, 5. 51. 2/2/78, 14. 52. 23/2/78, 12.

The longer the depression lasted the greater became the need and the harder became the task of collecting relief funds. By the end of 1878 the meagre help provided in soup kitchens was being curtailed. Generous givers had now less to give and there were rumours of further closures of mills and mines. The resources of many were crushed when the West of England Bank crashed, and this meant not only a loss of money but a loss of morale. For years the Bank had paid a fourteen percent dividend. Many workers had invested their savings therein in the belief that they would be in safe keeping. Moreover, the relief funds in several towns had been lodged in the Bank. The relief fund for widows of miners killed in the Abercarn mine disaster had been lodged in this Bank. In all, £4,000,000 had been deposited in the Bank and its failure had painful results.[53]

Such a time of trial could not but have an impact upon the Connexion. There were some who pointed out that it was incongruous to build costly chapels in such a time of stress. £3,000 was spent on a new chapel at Talysarn but, as in many such cases, the plans had been passed and the work begun before the crisis struck the country.[54] Hermon chapel in Mynydd Llandegai was reopened in 1879 after being rebuilt at a cost of £2,650; this involved a heavy debt, but in 1878 the congregation had raised £1,000, which represented £3 8s. 11¾d. from each member; this was certainly a great generosity in difficult times.[55]

Nevertheless, the resources of the Connexion could not but feel the strain of the times. At the Association in Brecon it was said that some congregations in the Merthyr area had not been able to contribute as much to the Ministerial Fund as had been expected from them but this was not a matter for surprise since many men in the area were working only on one or two days a week; it would therefore have been improper to censure them for their default. Indeed, over the whole Connexion, support for the Ministerial Fund had been crippled. David Davies of Llandinam had offered £2,000 to the Fund on condition that the Connexion itself raised £8,000, but at the time of the Brecon Association only £2,000 had been raised.[56] Chapel activities were also blighted; preaching services were poorly attended when compared with the normal numbers; collections were also much smaller than usual.[57] At the Aberporth Association in May 1879 it was reported that the colleections in

53. 4/1/79, 9. 54. 16/2/78, 6. 55. 23/2/79, 12.
56. 19/11/78, 6. 57. 4/1/79, 9.

the congregations in the South were down by £112 13s. 4d. due to the hard times.[58]

Much of the blame for the social distress during the times of depression was attributed to extravagant expenditure on intoxicating drink and the subsequent ravages of drunkenness. However, the contribution of alcohol to industrial distress was only one aspect of what was regarded as an increasing social problem, and there was a growing agitation in the Connexion for a strong line against the use of alcohol and against the drink trade. *Y Goleuad* said that non-conformists should be ashamed that the Roman Catholic movement led by Father Matthew was more concerned about the evils of drunkenness than they were; ten thousand Roman Catholics in Liverpool had already joined the movement and one of its leaders, Father Nugent, said the only safe path amid the lures of strong drink was the way of total abstinence. Roman Catholics were proving better than their creed; non-conformists ought to beware lest their creed was better than their practice. It should be clear, said *Y Goleuad*, that the evil consequences of drink had swept many of the sons and daughters of Wales away from religion, from the chapels and from all goodness.[59] In England, Cardinal Manning had taken a gallant stand against the evil and *Y Goleuad* said that his example should be followed.[60] In Wales, as in other countries, the ravages of the evil were on the increase,[61] but the increase in Britain had far outstripped the increase in the United States of America. According to the figures given by *Y Goleuad*, the United States with forty-five million people spent £93,000,000 on alcoholic drinks but Britain with thirty-three million people spent £142,000,000; this prodigality was an irrational squandering of resources, and pulpit and press ought to be vigorous in condemning this waste and Parliament ought to act to curtail it.[62] The fruits of increased wages in times of prosperity had been lost because of the continued escalation in expenditure on drink and there were no reserves left to meet times of hardship. It was also said that the habit of drinking had become socially respectable during the preceding forty years.[63] In the eight years from 1871 to 1878 the amount spent in Britain's forty thousand public-houses was £987,320,671, an increase of £351,165,094 over what had been spent in the eight years from 1856 to 1863.[64]

58. 24/5/79, 10.
59. 17/8/72, 8.
60. 16/10/75, 12.
61. 10/5/73, 8.
62. 4/1/79, 9.
63. 11/1/79, 9.
64. 29/3/79, 10.

Serious as were the economic problems caused by such expenditure, they were regarded by *Y Goleuad* as less serious than the appalling social consequences. The excessive use of alcohol had been an inflammatory cause of many major crimes. The annual number of offences against the law was estimated to be about half a million and of these one hundred and fifty thousand were cases of drunkenness.[65] In one weekend there were one hundred and sixty-one cases of drunkenness before the Liverpool courts.[66] In Liverpool there had also been two severe sentences, one man of twenty-six being sentenced to transportation for life and another of twenty being sentenced to hanging; one writer said the crimes which led to these sentences were aggravated by drink and he added that the time had come for a thorough attack on the "accursed business" which was at the root of the violence in the streets of the city.[67]

The grim figures and the calls for action raised problems for Calvinistic Methodism in its own internal discipline and also led to a campaign to have the public-houses closed on Sundays.

The practical internal Connexional problems were whether or not total abstinence should be made a condition of Church membership and whether or not fermented wine should be used at the Sacrament.

Quite a storm was raised in 1876 when a church member moved from one district, taking with him a high commendation from two deacons of his church; he went to another district but was refused admission to membership in the chapel in that area because he was not a total abstainer. This was challenged and was said to be contrary to the requirements of both the Bible and the Connexion.[68] However, even in the heyday of the total abstinence agitation it would have been impossible to get approval in the Connexional courts for a rule making total abstinence a condition of membership but there was strong advocacy for a rule requiring ministers and elders to be total abstainers, though this was not achieved for a considerable time. At the elders' meeting at an Association in Brecon an attempt was made to get approval of a recommendation that elders should be total abstainers but the Chairman thought they had a duty to be temperate and to advocate temperance rather than a total prohibition.[69]

65. 31/5/79, 11. 66. 8/9/77, 13. 67. 2/1/75, 5.
68. 22/7/76, 5; 29/7/76, 5. 69. 19/10/78, 6.

There was a serious scandal when a minister in West Merioneth, John Davies of Dyffryn, had to be suspended from his ministry after misbehaving when under the influence of drink. This caused great sorrow to many and was said to be a warning to others to be more rigid in this matter and also to be a sign that total abstinence was the only safe policy. Rev. Daniel Rowlands thought that almost all ministers and a growing number of elders were total abstainers but he felt that they were not zealous enough in advocating total abstinence among their people.[70] The Moderator of the Association in Brecon hoped that the influence of Trevecka, which had from its foundation discountenanced the use of alcohol, would send forth into the ministry men dedicated to the eradication of drunkenness, "the king of the sins of our land."[71] It was generally felt that there was not a widespread support for campaigns against drink and the drink trade. An elder told an Association in Machynlleth that when a temperance meeting was held in any centre not one in ten of those who attended church or chapel was present.[72] *Y Goleuad* thought that the one hundred and fifty thousand cases of drunkenness in the country were a standing rebuke to the weak influence of ten million people who were estimated to have been in a church or chapel on a recent Sunday.[73]

The lead given by Lady Llanover in this matter was much commended. She was the wife of Sir Benjamin Hall whose fame lives on in the epithet "Big Ben" and who was ennobled as Lord Llanover. His wife took a great interest in the Connexion and she was also a keen advocate of total abstinence. *Y Goleuad* reported that the Christmas Day celebrations at Llanover began with the early morning service called Plygain; thereafter, between one and two hundred tenants were entertained to a meal during which not one drop of alcoholic drink was served; everyone went home sober.[74] The town of Aberystwyth was commended for providing a reading-room as a counter-attraction to the public-houses but it was too small to provide a real alternative and even when the accommodation was increased to two rooms, as was planned, it would be still inadequate. *Y Goleuad* thought this was typical of the scant recognition of the need for attractive alternatives to the public-houses.[75]

The use of fermented wine at the Sacrament was condemned by many. It was difficult to commend total abstinence if many

70. 12/4/79, 4. 71. 19/10/78, 6. 72. 29/11/79, 4 & 7.
73. 11/12/75, 7. 74. 8/1/76, 8. 75. 7/4/77, 13.

who had never tasted alcohol and had been persuaded to take the pledge of total abstinence were to have their first taste of alcohol at the Lord's Table. Rev. Daniel Rowlands of the Normal College, Bangor, said that in countries where wine was unobtainable, as could easily happen, the use of water or milk would be in order and the validity of the Sacrament would not be questioned; he then said that even in Wales water or milk would be preferable to "the fiery drink mixed with brandy which is used today," but there was no need to go to such a tasteless extreme because it was possible to have a wine with no alcoholic content; this could be made by steeping dried raisins in boiling water and allowing the mixture to sit for twenty-four hours; the liquid, when drained off, was fully suitable for the Sacrament and had been tested by the Primitive Methodists; for those who did not wish to take this trouble there was the unfermented wine prepared by Mr. Frank Wright which had been on the market for fourteen years and had given general satisfaction.[76] Other writers claimed that unfermented wine had been used in New Testament times and Rowlands pointed out that Christ did not say that wine was to be used but "the fruit of the vine." Rowlands said he was not afraid of stirring up a controversy because, as a Belfast man had said, "If the water be clean, a shake will do it no harm."[77] An Aberystwyth correspondent said that Tabernacle and Siloh had been using Wright's unfermented wine for about ten years and there had been no complaints; it was also used in Llanbadarn Fawr Parish Church, in the English Presbyterian Church and would soon be adopted in the Welsh and English Wesleyan chapels.[78] Rowlands said he had tried to persuade the church at Twrgwyn in Bangor to change to unfermented wine, though he added that, however painful it was to his own conscience, he would abide by the church's decision if they decided to continue the existing practice; he got stronger support than he had expected from the members, many of whom said that it was inconsistent to continue to use fermented wine and at the same time to urge people to stay away from the public-houses and become total abstainers.[79]

Nevertheless, there was strong objection to such a policy. One writer, Samuel Owen of Tanygrisiau; asserted that Rowlands's arguments were open to ridicule; Owen claimed that Christ had commanded the use of wine and this had to be obeyed; he admitted there were risks but they had to be taken just as the Church in

76. 5/4/73, 10. 77. 3/5/73, 4. 78. 24/5/73, 7.
79. 6/3/75, 5.

New Testament times had taken them; there were those at that time who had got drunk at the Sacrament but the Apostles had not ordered any change in the common practice. Another writer said that Rowlands's fiery speeches over the previous years had done little to counteract the real ravages of drunkenness and when he proceeded to go against Christ's command to use wine at the Sacrament he was becoming a Pharisee.[80] This writer wrote again a fortnight later to say that Rowlands's policy was another example of attempts which had been made in Wales for many years to set up a dictatorship in matters of food and drink,[81] and he wrote still another letter to say that there was no proof that in New Testament times the wine was unfermented; attempts to preserve the fruit of the vine without fermentation would not produce a wine but a syrup; he also cited the ancient churches of the East which all used fermented wine.[82] To judge from the number and ferocity of the letters against Rowlands it would seem that the weight of opinion in the Connexion was against the suggested change.

In the twentieth century it is safe to say that the introduction of the breathaliser test did not come as the result of the advocacy of total abstinence propagandists; indeed, its introduction may have been delayed because of the almost pathological desire of those in authority to avoid giving the impression that they were swayed by such propaganda. In the end a courageous minister was able to take the decision to introduce the test because society at large had reluctantly come to the conclusion that such a test was necessary as a measure of self-preservation from drunken drivers whose share in the causing of accidents had become too great to be ignored. So it was in the case of Sunday-closing. This came about not solely or even mainly because of the pressure of agitation by total abstinence advocates but also because of the general revulsion against the rowdyism which had become so prevalent on Saturday nights and because of the undesirable social and economic consequences of the consumption of drink on Sunday nights as well. Many people who were connected with the chapels were averse to the Sunday-closing policy. One correspondent pointed out that in one town twenty-seven people connected with public-houses were members of Calvinistic Methodist chapels and this could be parallelled in other towns; therefore, few would believe that the Connexion was in earnest in its advocacy of Sunday-closing until those involved in the drink trade were given a time-limit in which

80. 12/4/73, 3. 81. 26/4/73 82. 10/5/73, 4.

to close their public-houses on Sunday or to forfeit their membership of the church.[83] Owen Thomas told the Association in Pwllheli that the opposition to Sunday-opening was stronger in the North than in the South, but another speaker said that while this was so there was little comfort to be gained from the results of a recent canvas in certain areas which showed that in the South only one in fifty was against Sunday-opening and in the North one in ten; even though the proportion in the North was five times as great as in the South there was still much ground to be won even in the North before Sunday-closing could be achieved.[84] There were areas where the opposition to Sunday-opening was much stronger than these figures would suggest. In Dolgellau, three magistrates, two doctors, ten ministers, nine publicans, and five hundred and sixty-three householders were in favour of Sunday-closing but only two publicans and five householders were against it; five publicans and six householders had refused to indicate their views.[85]

There was a growing revulsion against Saturday-night violence. One suggestion was to provide special trains in populous areas for drunkards only so that other travellers might be spared the drunken uproar, the crude language, and the suspicion of being in questionable company; the drunkards would also be spared the embarrassment of having sober travelling companions and so could find scope for their vile language without fearing that there would be sober witnesses who could give evidence of their misbehavoiur in a court of law. *Y Goleuad* admitted the force of this argument but said there were difficulties in providing such trains; if the train was for drunkards, would it be permissible for the driver and fireman to be drunk? If so, public safety would be endangered. It would also be difficult to segregate the drunk from the sober; if a young man got drunk, would it be necessary for a young lady in his company to get drunk before she would be allowed to travel home with him? *Y Goleuad* thought the only answer was a national abstinence from an indulgence which tended to inflame the evil depths of human nature.[86] One correspondent said that lawyers would make a fortune arguing that decisions about the drunkenness of would-be passengers had been mistaken.[87]

83. 12/7/79, 11.
84. 6/9/79, 4.
85. 29/3/78, 5.
86. 3/4/75, 8.
87. 5/5/75, 5.

Advocates of Sunday-closing found audiences in the Associations far from enthusiastic even in face of reports of increasing intemperance.[88] This was a fairly reliable reflection of the general state of public opinion at that time. The general outlook was probably reflected in a report concerning Bala and the surrounding district where it was said that supporters of total abstinence, though zealous, were few.[89]

88. 15/4/76, 5; 10/6/76, 6; 28/8/76, 12; 7/10/76, 17.
89. 24/3/77, 14.

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